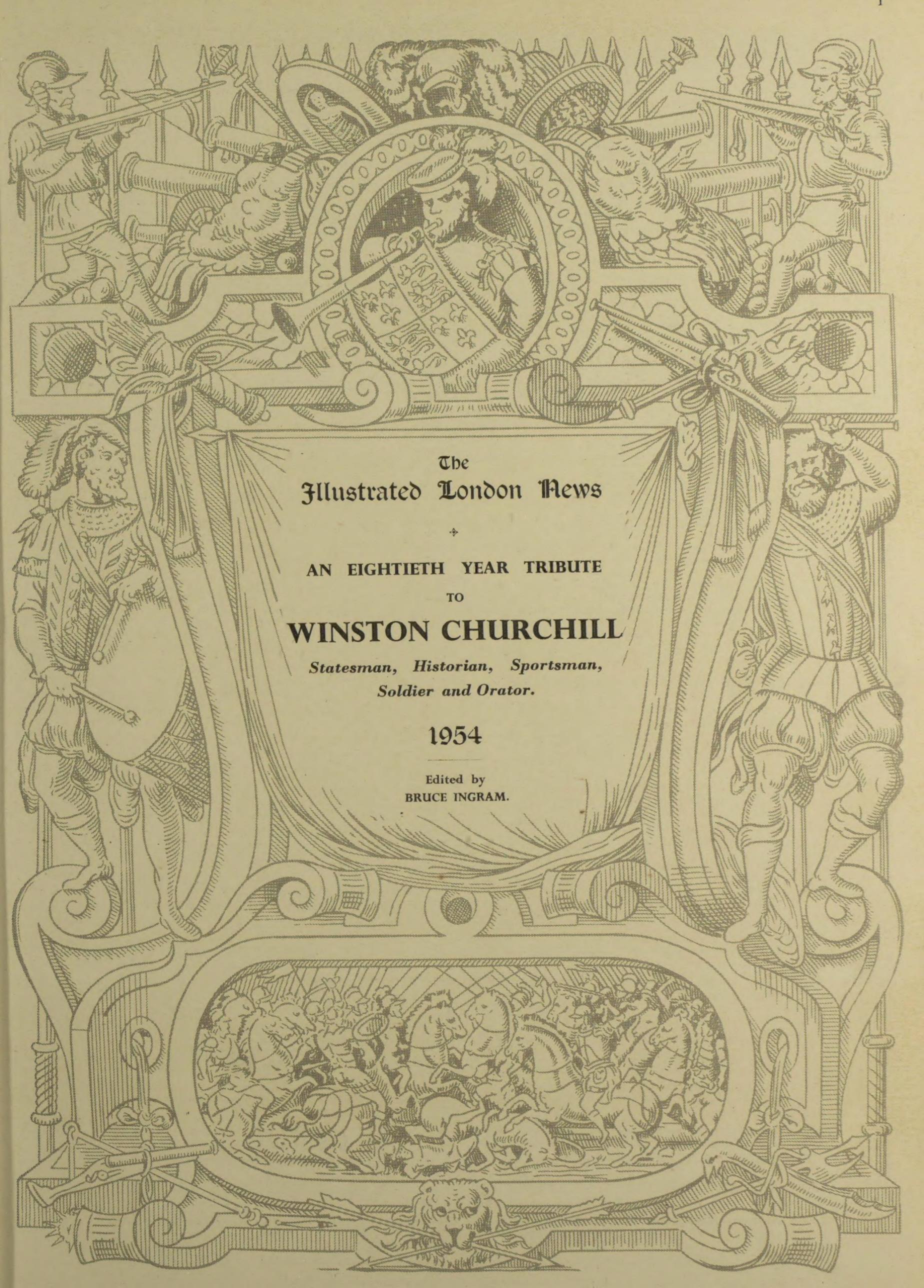




The Right Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., P.C., O.M., C.B., T.D.
Prime Minister of Great Britain and First Lord of the Treasury.

From a Studio Portrait by Karsh of Ottawa.



The
Illustrated London News

AN EIGHTIETH YEAR TRIBUTE
TO
WINSTON CHURCHILL
*Statesman, Historian, Sportsman,
Soldier and Orator.*

1954

Edited by
BRUCE INGRAM.

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SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL IN PARLIAMENT.

BY EARL WINTERTON, P.C., T.D. (M.P. HORSHAM DIVISION, 1904-51, MEMBER OF CABINET, 1938-39).

AS is natural and fitting, much has been said and written about Sir Winston Churchill's astonishing career in recent months by many of us—in books, newspapers, and over the air. Every aspect of the character and attainments of the greatest living figure in national and international leadership has been analysed and examined by friendly and hostile critics alike; the versatility of his genius also in other fields of human endeavour has come under review by those who, like him, have attained fame in those fields. His success as a writer and an artist have rightly earned him the praise of his most distinguished contemporaries in those arts. Nevertheless, the subject is by no means exhausted, for Sir Winston is still shaping history.

As he would be the first to admit, his political career would have been impossible if he had not mastered the art of being a good parliamentarian; in some countries—the United States, for example—a man can reach the highest positions—as President, as Secretary of State—without ever having been a member of either House of the Legislature; true, he has to be a politician and possess a thick skin to rise to either position; further, if he is to succeed, he must know how to guide and influence the Senate and House of Representatives from outside; but he need not, as in Britain, work his way up as a Member of the Legislature; there are, of course, exceptions to this rule, even in Britain, but they usually only occur in time of war.

No estimate of the ingredients which have made Sir Winston's public career possible is of value unless it fully examines his position in Parliament, whether in or out of office, during more than half a century. This I shall endeavour to do in the forthcoming pages; there is no more fascinating task, for Sir Winston, like many another genius, does not conform to any one pattern. He resembles the House of Commons itself in that he is unpredictable and can rouse the country to the highest and most moral peak of endeavour and shock or startle it all on the same day.

My survey, since I entered the House of Commons in 1904 and took my seat in February 1905, begins with the youthful Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P., of those days; he was, in fact, just over thirty but he looked younger, despite his many and varied achievements during the preceding ten years, involving considerable mental and physical effort. For he had been a soldier on active service, a war correspondent on more than one front, a prisoner of war in South Africa, and was the author of four books, with a fifth—the life of his father—in preparation. He had entered the House of Commons as a Conservative and then "crossed the floor" as the result of disagreement with the views of his Party and especially of its leader; since he had changed his allegiance he had been the centre of controversy and engaged in one parliamentary tumult after another. Whether he wanted it or not—and undoubtedly he did—the spotlight was on him. Indeed, in that era of much fuller reporting of parliamentary and platform speeches when more caricatures of prominent men in public life were produced by cartoonists than is the case to-day, he was a figure almost as well known to the British public as he is now.

To the Conservative Members whose benches he had recently left he shared, with young Mr. Lloyd George, the distinction of being the most unpopular figure in the House. They never concealed their personal and political dislike of him and he fully reciprocated their hatred and

contempt. The most wounding things were said about him. He was sometimes called the "Blenheim rat" and other opprobrious terms were applied to him. For instance, at the time of the controversy over the Bill to enable the Government to exclude undesirable aliens, of which Sir Winston was a strong opponent, the late Mr. Leo Maxse, editor of the *National Review*, stated in his editorial column that naturally Mr. Churchill was opposed to the Bill for "he is half an alien and wholly undesirable."

It was harder to assess the measure of his popularity or unpopularity in the Liberal Opposition. They welcomed in him, as in Mr. Lloyd George, two most redoubtable opponents of the dying Conservative Government and did not resent the "rough-and-tumble" methods which both employed to embarrass and annoy the Treasury Bench; for feeling

between the two parties was very bitter; but some of the older and more responsible Members doubted the permanent value to their Party of such biting, acrid methods as both men adopted and were concerned, since they had obviously earned a title to an Under-Secretaryship, what each might do when they got office; both had obviously very explosive qualities. Few, if any, among the seniors of the Party or the juniors who were competing with Messrs. Churchill and Lloyd George in acquiring fame believed that either of them could eventually be Prime Minister. None, in their most imaginative and speculative mood, conceived the idea that each of them would be the nation's leader in two terrible wars; for in 1905, despite the unfortunate behaviour of the Kaiser during the South African War and his inexplicable wish to challenge the British Navy in number and power of ships, few believed a European war possible; indeed, the Liberal Party confidently asserted that an era of "peace, retrenchment and reform" would follow their almost certain accession to power at the next election.

To those members of the public who took an intelligent interest in political and parliamentary affairs without adherence to any Party, Sir Winston was, on the whole, a sympathetic, if slightly comic, figure. The British, perhaps more than any nation, have always loved the cheeky boy who "cocks a snook" at the headmaster; it was in this rôle that many found Sir Winston endearing, for he always went for the big guns and particularly liked attacking Mr. Joseph

Chamberlain and the Prime Minister; no matter how many hard smacks he got in return, he always returned unabashed to the attack; indeed, he was unshubbable! It should not, however, be thought that Sir Winston had only a "nuisance value" in the 1900 Parliament; he made many serious speeches, though he was not as yet an orator; the slight impediment in his voice which he has mainly overcome was a handicap to him; nor had he, in those far-off days, attained his full command over the cadence and beauty of the English language; he was at that time more at home in the written than the spoken word. He was engaged in writing the life of his father, which some critics consider the best of all his books; his future greatness was more clearly discernible in this remarkable work than in his contemporary speeches.

As I have written elsewhere, the influence of his father's life and ideas was very strong with him then; he admired Lord Randolph's courage and the principles for which he fought; like Lord Randolph, he despised the "old gang"; like Lord Randolph, at least in his latter days, he



THE YOUNG MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT: MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, AT ABOUT THE TIME OF HIS ELECTION AS CONSERVATIVE MEMBER FOR OLDHAM IN 1900.

Mr. (now Sir) Winston Churchill fought his first Parliamentary election in June 1899, when he stood as Conservative candidate for Oldham, his opponent being Mr. Walter Runciman (later first Viscount); and lost to him. In 1900 he returned from South Africa, and again stood for Oldham in the General Election, turning the tables on Mr. Runciman and going to Westminster.

Continued.

thought that the "old gang" were trying to keep him down. They had hounded the father out of public life; they were trying to do the same to his son. He would show them that they couldn't succeed. Lord Randolph had used the weapons of sarcasm, ridicule, bluntness and even sheer rudeness against those whom he disliked in public and private. He would do the same. Fortunately, this phase and feature of his attitude to those around him disappeared almost wholly after his success in office in the next Parliament and especially after his exceptionally happy marriage in 1908. For it must be admitted that Lord Randolph, for all his brilliance, public spirit and contribution to the democratisation of the Conservative Party, was not a good model, in his relationship to his colleagues, to follow.

But while this phase lasted it did young Mr. Winston Churchill considerable harm. It enabled his enemies to say that he was only another edition of his father and would go the same way; filial piety can be carried too far. In the 1900 Parliament, Sir Winston was a boon to music-hall artistes and especially to "cross-talk" Cockney comedians who were then very popular at the halls; one heard some such statements as this: "You ain't 'alf got the cheek. 'Oo do yer think yer are? Winston Churchill?" ; or again, "Ow, yer do speak luvly, Mrs. Brown. You remind me of 'Winsome Winnie.' What me and me ol' man heard when he come dahn our way to speak at a meeting in the Mile End Road." However dull the rest of the dialogue, such allusions always received loud laughter and applause.

I have enumerated some of the facets of his political character in those days which produced so great a dislike of him by his opponents. But there was another reason for it. He was accused of leaving the Conservative Party only a short time after his election as a Conservative M.P. because of pique at insufficient acceptance of his ability by its leader, the Prime Minister, Mr. A. J. Balfour. Others, taking a different view, believed that he realised that the long reign of the Conservative Party in office was drawing to a close and that, for an ambitious young man, the Liberal Party offered the best chance of future office; it is only fair to Sir Winston, however, to record, since the history of those days is almost forgotten, that other young Conservative M.P.s, less ebullient and impulsive than the youthful Mr. Churchill, changed their allegiance or attacked their leaders because of dissatisfaction with the Government's conduct of affairs, especially over the Tariff Reform question.

There was an interesting story current in the Lobbies and smoking-rooms of the House of Commons in the 1905 session. It was to the effect that Sir Winston had said to that remarkable man, Sir Charles Dilke, that he was dissatisfied with certain aspects of Liberal policy. Sir Charles was said to have replied: "Look out, Winston, You can 'rat' once, but no one can 'rat' twice. That finishes any man." I don't know if the story is true or not; if it is, Sir Charles proved to be a singularly bad prophet, for Sir Winston subsequently left the Liberals to become what he termed a Constitutionalist and afterwards once again, as all the world knows, became a Conservative. My own view is that a Party politician is perfectly entitled to change his allegiance if his motives for doing so are sincere; I do not think that personal pique or ambition were the main factors in causing Sir Winston to "cross the floor" in the 1900 Parliament.

Before leaving this period of Sir Winston's parliamentary career, I must record one personal incident because it is symptomatic of his kindness. Soon after I entered the House, I was sitting in the Library feeling rather forlorn and very much "the new boy," for I knew very few of my fellow-Members, when Sir Winston came up to me; recalling that we were distantly related by marriage, he asked if there was anything which he could do to help me to learn the ways of the House. No one could have been kinder or more charming. I was pleased and touched that a man whom I had been recently describing in my by-election speeches as a monster of political iniquity and who was a prominent

Member of the Opposition should take the trouble to say a friendly word to a new, young and shy Member; from that incident arose a respect and friendship for Sir Winston on my part which, though strained at times by political differences, has never been broken.

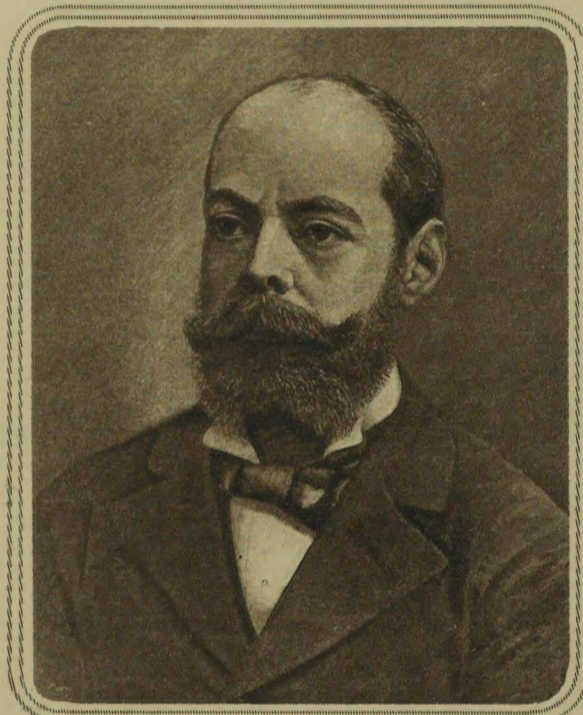
I have been fortunate to have, in a long life, many friends among the eminent; to none do I owe more for generous hospitality and the incomparable benefit of sitting, with other friends of his, round a table with him at the head, than to Sir Winston.

When the Liberals came into overwhelming power as the result of the 1906 election—the heaviest defeat ever imposed upon the Conservative Party—Sir Winston was very properly rewarded for his services in Opposition by being made Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Two of his earlier actions in this office in the Commons did him harm.

On Wednesday, March 21, 1906, Mr. Byles, a Liberal back-bencher, moved a resolution of censure on Lord Milner, who had recently retired from the High Commissionership of South Africa, in the following terms: "That this House expresses its disapproval of the conduct of Lord Milner, as High Commissioner of South Africa and Governor of the Transvaal, in authorising the flogging of Chinese labourers in breach of the law, in violation of treaty obligations and without the knowledge or sanction of his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies." The Government, through Sir Winston, moved an amendment which was carried by 355 to 135 to leave out from "House" to the end of the proposed words and insert "while recording its condemnation of the flogging of Chinese

coolies in breach of the law, desires, in the interests of peace and conciliation in South Africa, to refrain from passing censure upon individuals."

Sir Winston was in a difficult position, since he and his Party had constantly attacked the Government and Lord Milner before and during the General Election for the introduction of Chinese indentured labour into the South African mines. They had designated the system as one of "slavery," and pictures of Chinese in a chain-gang had appeared on their electoral posters. A few of the less scrupulous



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S FATHER SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH: LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, P.C., M.P. (1849-1895). Lord Randolph Churchill, son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, was Member for Woodstock from 1874 to 1885, and for Paddington from 1885 until 1895, the year of his death. He was Secretary of State for India from 1885 to 1886, and in 1886 when Lord Salisbury came into power he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons.

From "The Illustrated London News," February 2, 1895.

Liberal candidates had suggested that the Conservative Government might introduce Chinese "slave labour" into Britain; some, at least, of the electors, as I know from personal experience, believed them.

Sir Winston made the difficult position in which he was placed worse by suggesting that he was really defending Lord Milner when, in fact, he was obviously attacking him. In apparent condonation of Lord Milner's action, he referred to the fact that he had left Africa "honourably poor." This calamitous phrase was received by us on the Conservative benches with such prolonged shouts of angry disapproval that for an appreciable time the Under-Secretary had to stand silent at the Box. Mr. Balfour, in winding up for the Opposition, remarked that the Under-Secretary's "insulting protection" of Lord Milner was worse than his attack upon him. Earlier in the debate, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, in one of his last great speeches before his breakdown in health, spoke of the infinite meanness and cowardice of the Government in neither meeting nor negating the motion; Sir Winston made no effort to meet this charge.

His other mistake, which has long been forgotten, was on the same subject. Asked if the Government admitted that the word "slavery" could not properly be applied to indentured Chinese labour in South Africa, he replied in a witty, if cynical, answer that slavery was a "terminological inexactitude." The Government majority were delighted with this amusing reply, not realising the harm it would do them. For months afterwards, Conservative Members at their meetings got their loudest cheers by saying that young Mr. Churchill had "let the cat out of the bag" by admitting that he and his Party had won the election by bearing false witness against the Conservative Government over the issue of Chinese labour. But he hadn't the courage, it was said, to use the good English word "lie," so he must needs call his falsehood and that of his Party a "terminological inexactitude" in the hope that many people wouldn't know what he meant. Such statements silenced the

[Continued on page 5]



The Arms of Sir Winston Churchill, Knight of the Garter.

A Shield Quartering the Arms of Churchill with those of his Paternal Family of Spencer.

The Shield shows in the first and fourth quarters the Arms of Churchill, Sable a lion rampant argent with a canton of the last thereon a cross gules; the cross of St. George was granted as an augmentation to Sir Winston Churchill, the father of the first Duke of Marlborough, by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms, on January 20, 1661-62, in virtue of a Royal Warrant of December 5, 1661, in recognition of his service to King Charles I., as Captain of the Horse, and his loyalty to King Charles II., as a Member of the House of Commons. In the second and third quarters are the Arms of Sir Winston Churchill's paternal family of Spencer:—Quarterly argent and gules, in the second and third quarters a fret or, over all on a bend sable three escallops of the first. George, fifth Duke of Marlborough, was by Royal Licence dated May 26, 1817, and exemplification in the College of Arms on August 7 following, empowered to assume the additional surname of Churchill in consideration of his descent from the first Duke of Marlborough, and to quarter the Arms of Churchill, as here displayed, with his paternal coat of Spencer. He was also granted a Shield to be displayed over all in the centre chief point:—Argent a cross of St. George surmounted by an inescutcheon azure charged with three fleur-de-lis or, being a representation of the bearings on the standard or colours belonging to the Honour or Manor of Woodstock, as declared by an Act of Parliament made in the third and fourth years of Queen Anne and particularly set forth in a Warrant of King George I. dated July 19, 1722. The dexter Crest is that of Churchill:—a lion couchant guardant argent supporting a banner gules charged with a dexter hand couped of the first, staff or. The sinister Crest that of Spencer:—out of a Coronet or a griffin's head between two wings expanded argent gorged with a collar gemel and armed gules. Sir Winston Churchill's Arms are shown here as those of a Knight of the Garter and his other Orders are therefore omitted. A translation of the motto reads, "faithful, though unfortunate."

(Continued from page 4.)

noisiest interrupters at Conservative meetings. The "terminological inexactitude" incident probably contributed in some degree to the Government's loss of votes at by-elections, including that at North-West Manchester at which Sir Winston was defeated in 1908, after having offered himself for re-election on entering the Cabinet, in accordance with the constitutional rule then in practice; he was subsequently elected for Dundee.

A further indiscretion of Sir Winston's took place in the early days of his Under-Secretaryship after an Imperial Conference at which delegates from overseas had advocated preferential trading within the Empire. He said in a speech that the door to Imperial Preference was "banged, barred and bolted." This statement hurt and annoyed the statesmen from Canada, Australia and New Zealand who had attended the Conference and enabled us Conservatives to say, what we sincerely believed at the time, that Sir Winston was an enemy of the Empire.

Though the subject is somewhat outside the scope of this article, it is interesting to note that Mr. L. S. Amery believes that Sir Winston Churchill, even to-day, remains a tepid believer in the potentialities of Commonwealth co-operation in industry and finance. He regards him as primarily a great British patriot and statesman rather than a leader of thought and action in the Commonwealth. It is, however, only fair to Sir Winston to observe that he is a leading and most enthusiastic advocate of an ideal which is even more far-reaching—that is, the closest co-operation and understanding between all the English-speaking peoples.

I have dealt with these episodes, in the earliest days of Sir Winston's Ministerial career, at some length because they illustrate an important theme. His upward path to the highest power under the Throne in the State was, like that of lesser men, one on which there were stones to stumble over as well as pits by the side into which one could fall. He fell into three of them in the way which I have described, but, unlike some to whom such falls mean that their political future is crippled thereby, got out and was soon rid of his bruises. They probably taught him that if you possess qualities of youth, ambition, pugnacity, intense loyalty and belief in the cause which you are advocating, impulsiveness and command of language, you can easily give the impression that you are a cynical "smart Alec." The House of Commons detests such characters; it is a tribute to Sir Winston's real personality that the House soon forgot these incidents and during the remainder of his comparatively brief Under-Secretaryship for the Colonies treated him with growing respect; this he fully deserved, for his speeches and answers to Questions showed statesmanship—notably a speech on the South African Union. He had, indeed, a responsible task, for he represented the Colonial Office single-handed in the Commons—the Secretary of State being in the Lords.

Sir Winston was President of the Board of Trade from 1908-10, Home Secretary from 1910-11, and First Lord of the Admiralty from 1911-15. These were heavy Ministerial and administrative responsibilities for a man still in the thirties to bear, but they were most valuable formative burdens for the infinitely greater one of being Prime Minister in the Second World War. In this, as in so many other things, Sir Winston has been fortunate. The Home Secretary has, by reason of his advice on the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, literally the power of life and death over certain individuals condemned to be hanged; the First Lord of the Admiralty's office is always a great one. At the outbreak of the First World War, with the German Navy at the plenitude of its power, it was one of supreme importance.

How did Sir Winston discharge these tasks and what was his relationship to Parliament? He was a successful President of the Board of Trade. During his tenure of that office, he was responsible for the creation of Labour Exchanges and Trade Boards, thus showing early in his Ministerial career his regard for social reform, which has never left him; as Home Secretary he made a substantial contribution towards humanising the prison system. He was also, very personally, involved in two incidents. One was the dispatch of troops and Metropolitan police to Tonypany during a coal strike; the other was the use of troops to aid the police

in the Sidney Street "siege." Undoubtedly, both actions were justified in order to avoid serious disorder and loss of life. But he was accused in the House of Commons of acting as a supreme commander in both cases, coupled with unnecessary provocation in the first case and interference with the discretion of those responsible on the spot in the second, to which his actual presence in Sidney Street lent colour. He was cheerfully and completely unrepentant when attacked in the Commons. I, in common with many Members on the Opposition benches, thought at the time, at least privately, that his defence was a good one.

This illustrates a point which should always be borne in mind in considering Sir Winston's parliamentary career. The House, however much it may scold him for it, in its heart admires or at least tolerates a quality in him which it would not accept for a moment in lesser men. That is his determination to be in the centre of the stage and use thereon all the dramatic power of which he is so emphatically a master. When, as in his case, great moral and physical courage is joined to the genius of quick decision, power of leadership and the artistry of words and coupled with a justifiable belief that he can find the solution to the most critical problem, such a characteristic is forgivable, even commendable.

Though I have never heard the comparison made, there is some resemblance in this regard between Sir Winston and Lord Nelson. Nelson was loved by his subordinates, mistrusted by many of his equals, and usually, though not invariably, on bad terms with his superiors and the Board of Admiralty; intensely ambitious, with a justifiable belief that if given the supreme command he could save England by destroying the French Fleet, he did everything possible to thrust himself forward and keep himself in the public eye. He liked the plaudits of the crowd and appearing in full-dress uniform with all his decorations when the occasion did not warrant it. You cannot judge the unique genius of men like Nelson and Churchill by ordinary standards.

Through these years from 1908 to 1914, Sir Winston continued to be very unpopular with his opponents, though some of his principal ones and some of his lesser ones, like myself, were his friends in private life—

to the annoyance, I may say, of some of our colleagues. But Mr. Lloyd George had, by then, easily surpassed him as the most hated figure in public life. What Sir Winston's opponents did reluctantly realise was that he was no longer the cheeky boy politician with a command of invective, but a very formidable parliamentary figure who could, when he chose to avoid giving provocation, hold the hushed attention of a crowded House. Many of those former opponents were genuinely sorry when he felt compelled to resign his great office in 1915 because of the unmerited blame which, constitutionally, fell upon him for the failure of the Gallipoli expedition.

Returning to office in 1917, he became a most successful Minister of Munitions and further strengthened his hold on the attention

and respect of the Commons. But his great achievement in this period was when he went to the War Office in 1919; the country was faced with widespread mutiny in the Army—there had already been minor mutinies over the unfair system of demobilisation. Swiftly reversing the regulations of his predecessor in favour of a more equitable system, he saved the situation. Here he showed three of his greatest gifts as a Minister and a parliamentarian—the need to redress a genuine grievance drastically and immediately, the need to do so in a manner which the public at large will approve, and the need, by tact, persuasion and the proper choice of words, to persuade the House of Commons, never averse to exaggerate a grievance, that the redress is real and will be effective.

Some Ministers have the first two of these qualities but lack the third. Sir Winston has all three in abundance. It is sometimes forgotten that it is not his great leadership in the Second World War and unparalleled command of language alone which makes him the greatest parliamentarian of to-day and perhaps of all time, but the possession of the triple gifts which I have described.

Whilst at the War Office he was also for a time Secretary of State for Air. During his tenure of this office, with typical courage and, I fear I must add, great indiscretion which is occasionally harnessed to his courage, he flew a Royal Air Force machine as a pupil. It crashed; Sir Winston received a severe shaking and his Air Private Secretary, the late

[Continued overleaf.]



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S GRANDMOTHER AND AUNT: THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, WIFE OF THE SEVENTH DUKE, AND HER ELDEST DAUGHTER, LADY WIMBORNE.

Sir Winston Churchill's paternal grandmother, the wife of the seventh Duke of Marlborough, was Lady Frances Anne Emily Vane, daughter of the third Marquess of Londonderry. Her daughter, with whom she is shown, became the wife of the first Baron Wimborne.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S GRANDFATHER: THE SEVENTH DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Sir Winston Churchill's great descent is illustrated on other pages by a family-tree and family portraits. His greatest ancestor was the first Duke of Marlborough, victor of Blenheim, Malplaquet and Oudenarde, but his more immediate forbears were also of distinction. His grandfather, the seventh Duke of Marlborough, K.G., sat as Conservative Member for Woodstock, 1844-1845, and from 1847 to 1857, and was Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, Lord President of the Council, 1868, and Viceroy of Ireland, 1876-1880.

Continued.]

Group Captain Scott—a great friend of his and of mine (we shared a house at the time), who was one of the bravest men whom I ever knew—broke both his legs; they had already been severely injured on active service in the war. Sir Winston was very penitent and Group Captain Scott and his friends, including me, forgave him. The true nature of the incident was successfully concealed from the public at the time, which was a good thing for Sir Winston, for it might easily have provoked a vote of censure in the Commons with questions such as "Why does the Rt. Hon. Gentleman break every rule of Ministerial office? Why did he lead the police in person against the Sidney Street raiders? Why does he fly Royal Air Force machines though not a qualified pilot?"

Sir Winston, after his retirement from the War Office and before the fall of the Coalition Government, had a brief tenure of the Colonial Office. He took a prominent part in piloting the Irish Free State Bill through the Commons—that melancholy but, in the circumstances, inevitable measure. In view of the hostility to what they regarded as abject surrender to bloodthirsty rebels and assassins on the part of many Conservative supporters of the Government, this was a task requiring great powers of tact and persuasion. Sir Winston displayed both qualities in abundance; he showed, indeed, a fresh facet of his amazing versatility, which was that of being a first-class parliamentary diplomatist; he avoided giving or taking notice of provocation; he urged, pleaded and persuaded to such good effect that the incipient revolt did the Government little harm.

After the fall of the Coalition Government in 1922 and the subsequent election of the Conservatives to power, Sir Winston not only lost his office but his seat. He

went through an unhappy period "in the wilderness," during which time he announced his political designation to be "Constitutionalist." He stood and was returned again in 1924 as a Conservative and made Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Baldwin Government—a post which he held until its defeat in 1929. There was controversy at the time, not confined to his political opponents, as to whether he was a good, bad or indifferent Chancellor. There were serious criticisms, which have continued ever since, of his action in putting back the country on the gold

standard. But this article is concerned, as its title shows, with Sir Winston as a parliamentarian, and I have not the space fully to discuss his failure or success in a particular office, apart from his representation of it in Parliament.

As a parliamentarian he achieved after his return to the Commons in 1924 one of the greatest triumphs of his career. He was sitting with colleagues in a Cabinet whom a year earlier he had attacked with all his powers of invective and satire; he had thought the creation of a Conservative Government in 1922 a grave mistake. He had left the Liberal Party, become a Constitutionalist and then rejoined the Conservative Party, which he had left over twenty years before. It would be impossible to imagine a set of circumstances which would be more likely to make him unpopular and mistrusted, not only by his own Party but the House as a whole. So, for the first few weeks, he was; but he soon completely regained the attention of a House of Commons very different from the one which ended in 1922. Further and more important, he enjoyed its respect and admiration. His Budget speeches were mellifluous, and full, as might be expected, of striking and novel phrases. His four-hour speech when introducing the De-rating Bill was, as a feat of physical endurance, only paralleled in recent years by Mr. Lloyd George's Budget speech in 1909.

During the 1929 Parliament, when Labour was in office, Sir Winston brought all his combative faculties to bear upon the Government and especially upon his successor, Mr. Snowden, at the Treasury, though they had, as individuals, a mutual admiration for each other. The cliché, "parliamentary duel," is used too frequently and often inaccurately to describe what are merely two good speeches from the opposing Front

Benches in the closing stages of a big debate. But the contests on financial matters between Sir Winston and Mr. Snowden in the 1929 Parliament really did merit the description of a duel because two of the most expert parliamentary swordsmen of the day were constantly engaged in trying to pierce each other with the sharp swords of invective, ridicule and the use of statistics which in such hands could be used to prove anything; they were well-matched opponents. In the past there have been men in the Commons who, by their powers of oratory, their complete mastery of their case and their inventive genius in finding an apt and killing phrase on the spur of the moment, could fight Sir Winston in debate on equal terms and sometimes beat him. They were Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. F. E. Smith, Mr. Snowden and Sir Edward Carson. To-day, the only man in the Commons who can nearly rival them in attacking Sir Winston is Mr. Bevan—almost but not quite. For Mr. Bevan is not always master of his subject and he is vulnerable because of the venom and folly of some of his own observations in the past. It is interesting to note that Sir Winston has a most valuable technique for dealing with Mr. Bevan; he listens with apparent relish to the latter's most ferocious attacks upon him. During one of Mr. Bevan's philippics directed against him he suddenly, with that impish grin on his face which has delighted millions of his admirers, interjected, "Don't spoil a good speech." Mr. Bevan looked somewhat disconcerted.

When the National Government was formed and after the General Election, at which it gained an enormous majority, Sir Winston entered upon a period of his career lasting for nearly a decade, which is of great

interest in assessing his place in history and deciding his career as a parliamentarian. The features of it, in my judgment, are slightly different to what they were represented to be by his detractors (of which there were many) at the time and by his most ardent admirers to-day.

Sir Winston early showed his dislike of the National Government by his speeches, though, except on the subject of Indian Self-Government, he supported them in the Lobby; it was not surprising that he should despise and ridicule Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, for he had always done so; it is less

understandable why, quite early in the 1931 Parliament, he and Mr. Baldwin should have obviously developed, as they did, a mutual dislike for each other's political personalities. Sir Winston owed much to Mr. Baldwin for restoring him to the inner circle of the Conservative Party in 1924, and by conferring on him the high office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The two men appeared to get on amicably enough; at any rate, if they had dissensions in Cabinet or in private, news of them never reached Under-Secretaries like myself, who are usually well-informed on such matters. In the 1931 Parliament the supporters of both protagonists—for such they were—spread rumours, which were eagerly discussed in the Lobbies and smoking-rooms, about the inner views and ambitions of their admirer's rival. Mr. Baldwin, said Sir Winston's supporters, was an ambitious man, with no gift of statesmanship, but with subtle powers of political intrigue, concealed behind the façade of a simple, "honest-to-God" Englishman. He had encompassed the temporary destruction of the Socialist Party and believed he could rule Britain comfortably, quietly and amiably for some years, provided he did not have a man of Mr. Churchill's restless energy in his Government. To do so would be to have to face constant harassing questions of policy and proposals for action. Things settled themselves if left alone. Mr. Baldwin's supporters alleged that Sir Winston was back at his old game and had shown himself in his true light. He was not in the Government, at his own request, because he could best destroy Mr. Baldwin's leadership and eventually secure the Premiership in the rôle of a friendly critic. That was why he opposed the India Bill, so ran the tale. By so doing he could lead the Conservative Diehards, whom in his previous career he had invariably despised, in an all-out assault on Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister.

[Continued on page 8.]

"THE DAY OF PERIL IS TOO LATE FOR PREPARATION": MR. CHURCHILL, AS FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, MAKING HIS MOMENTOUS STATEMENT ON NAVAL POLICY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 22, 1912. [From "The Illustrated London News," July 27, 1912.]

Writing of Sir Winston Churchill's early Parliamentary career, when he was successively President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary and First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Winterton says: "These were heavy Ministerial and administrative responsibilities for a man still in the thirties to bear, but they were most valuable formative burdens for the infinitely greater one of being Prime Minister. . . . The First Lord of the Admiralty's office is always a great one. At the outbreak of the First World War, with the German Navy at the plenitude of its power, it was one of supreme importance."



(ABOVE.) AT THE HEIGHT OF THE BATTLE: MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL OUTSIDE THE BESIEGED HOUSE IN SIDNEY STREET, OFF THE MILE END ROAD, STANDING BETWEEN A FIREMAN AND A SOLDIER.

(LEFT.) AN INCIDENT WHICH AT THE TIME GAVE AMMUNITION TO HIS ENEMIES: MR. CHURCHILL'S PRESENCE AS HOME SECRETARY AT "THE SIEGE OF SIDNEY STREET," ON JANUARY 3, 1911.



"PEEPING ROUND CORNERS, HE EXPOSED HIMSELF WITH THE SCOTS GUARDS TO THE RANDOM FIRE OF THE BESIEGED BURGLARS": MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (LEFT CENTRE), TOP-HATTED IN THE EAST END OF LONDON, DURING THE SIDNEY STREET DRAMA.

In January 1911 Mr. Winston Churchill, then Home Secretary, was personally involved in an incident which not only resulted in him being criticised for leaving his departmental desk to appear on the scene of action, but also gave rise to one of the most remarkable of the Churchill stories. This incident, known as "The Siege of Sidney Street," took place on January 3, when the police telephoned to the Home Secretary to inform him that a gang of desperadoes were entrenched in a house in Sidney Street, their numbers being unknown. The house was soon surrounded by armed police, reinforced by Scots Guardsmen;

Mr. Churchill having given permission for the latter to be sent to the scene. At the height of the battle Mr. Churchill himself appeared and gave advice to those on the spot. Finally, the pistol shots from the house, which was by that time on fire, ceased; and later two charred bodies were found in the ruins. After this incident Mr. Balfour commented sarcastically in the House: "We are concerned to observe photographs in the illustrated papers of the Home Secretary in the danger zone. I can understand what the photographer was doing but not the Home Secretary."

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If these were indeed Sir Winston's motives, they were singularly unsuccessful in operation. Sir Winston was not a close student of the Government of India Bill, nor, indeed, of the Constitution of India. He thus fell an easy prey to Members like myself, of much lower position and capacity, who had knowledge of Indian affairs. To fight against the Bill in the country had little adverse effect upon the Government's supporters. In this period "Trust Baldwin!" was a strong rallying-cry. The whispering campaign against Sir Winston, questioning his motives and his character, and blackening his variegated political past, to which I have already referred, proliferated beyond the Commons all over the land. It met with success because there was a considerable number of Conservative voters who remembered with distaste Sir Winston's early political life. The day when he was to be, on his own merits and as a result of magnificent patriotic effort, the undisputed National Hero was still in the future. In the Commons and the country he was regarded by many as the brilliant, erratic, unreliable, inconsistent Winston Churchill. He was therefore a good target for what has come to be known as "Baldwinism," with its "middle of the road" and "safety first" philosophy. By which I do not mean that "Baldwinism" was necessarily wrong. As I have tried to show elsewhere in print, it had a most valuable effect in healing the wounds of class-hatred. But "Baldwinism" and "Churchillism" were bound, owing to their respective natures, to come into conflict and at this time "Churchillism" lost.

Sir Winston's parliamentary status undoubtedly diminished as a result. He himself was fully conscious of this fact. On one occasion Sir Winston, Lord Selborne and I, arrived together at a levée given by the Speaker. Occupants of the two Front Benches had been invited to a previous levée but Privy Councillors who sat on the Back Benches were asked to the second one. Sir Winston remarked gloomily that this was a function for the discarded—for those who were unlikely ever again to be in office. Since within five years he was to be Prime Minister and the nation's leader, and both Lord Selborne and I were to be Cabinet Ministers, the statement was inaccurate, but seemed reasonable enough at the time and reflected Sir Winston's own depression.

Sir Winston's great work in Parliament from the early 'thirties until the outbreak of the Second World War was his advocacy of rearmament to meet the Nazi menace. It is usually said that he fought this action alone and that his efforts were completely unsuccessful. Neither statement is true as it stands. Sir Winston was supported by a group of us in the Commons who met together regularly to concert our campaign. It included two men of eminence and great influence in the Conservative Party, in the persons of Sir Austen Chamberlain and Sir Robert Horne. Other members of it, like the late Lord Croft, Lord Altrincham and myself, had held or were to hold important offices of State; Sir Winston himself bears testimony in his book on the Second World War to the weight of authoritative opinion behind him when he led a deputation on the subject to see Mr. Baldwin. We did succeed, under his brilliant leadership, displayed in speech after speech in the Commons, in accelerating the pace of rearmament, though the Government never reached the figure of men and materials which was urged by Sir Winston. Without our movement the pace would have been slower, so the campaign cannot be properly described as infructuous.

The charge that he was manœuvring himself into a position to overthrow the Government and form another with himself at the head of it was again made when he intervened in the Abdication debate in favour of Edward VIII. by suggesting that a decision should be deferred. I am convinced that the accusation was a false one. Indeed, at the time when he made his speech, the issue was clearly a *chose jugée*. I am sure that he was moved by a chivalrous desire to support a friend as well as his Sovereign, whom he thought had been wronged. In so doing, he deliberately risked his whole future career and his great position in Parliament. His speech was received with more ferocious opposition than I ever remember hearing offered to one delivered in a historic debate by a parliamentarian of the front rank. He was not only shouted down, but some

Members, to their shame, hissed and booed as well. But both he and the House soon forgot the incident and no rancour on either side resulted from it; it was, indeed, a tribute to his personality that this should have been so. It is doubtful if any other eminent Member of the House would have survived such an experience; I have seen many men crushed and their parliamentary position permanently damaged by a less unpleasant one. For it was not a case of a Member being shouted down in a Party debate by his opponents. Such incidents sometimes help the Member attacked. It represented an explosion of wrath by the House as a whole.

No description of Sir Winston's parliamentary career in the fateful years just before the Second World War would be complete without a reference to his historic speech criticising the Munich Settlement which, in the circumstances, it required great courage to make. The House, as a whole, listened to it with respectful attention, but without acquiescence. His criticisms as regards the effect were proved by future events to be right and the attitude of the Commons wrong. But the critics of Yalta and Teheran a few years later were also justified in view of the aftermath of these conferences from which the world is still suffering. In this instance Sir Winston had the vast majority of the House on his side and the critics, like Sir Winston at the time of Munich, could command little support.

There is an irony about the rough parallel between the two debates which has not been fully appreciated by the public here, though it has in the United States; it is not one, perhaps, which would appeal to Sir Winston.

Sir Winston's great speeches in Parliament during the Second World War are part of our history and will be treasured and quoted for all time by Britons. Before examining their effect in and out of the Commons, it is worth noting that he was a most loyal member of the Chamberlain Government as it existed after the outbreak of war, which redounds to his credit because he could not have been wholly satisfied with its composition and leadership; it fell, not from dissension from within, but opposition from without. Sir Winston defended it vigorously in the debate which resulted in its fall. It might be argued that he could hardly do otherwise since he was not without personal responsibility for the disaster at Narvik; but, in public and private, he gave the impression that he had no intention or desire to break up the Government and form another with him as its head.

Sir Winston not only inspired the nation and made a great contribution to victory by his speeches in Parliament during the Second World War, but he enhanced the status and reputation of the House itself. At the beginning of this century, both Houses of Parliament, the House of Commons especially, were regarded by many people, who should have known better, as, at best, a necessary

evil in a democratic country; at the worst, a dangerous, ridiculous and insequent appendage to our system of government. M.P.s were represented by cartoonists and comedians as flatulent self-seekers who talked incessantly about things which didn't matter. Subconsciously, without being aware of it, public opinion veered round in favour of the House of Commons after seeing the immense harm to human rights and dignity resulting from the abolition of democratic legislative institutions in Europe. By his speeches and action in Parliament and the happy relationship which, in the main, existed between him and the Commons from 1940-45, Sir Winston greatly increased the modern regard for Parliament. To allies it was a matter of admiration, to enemies a source of envy, that Parliament should continue to sit in London as if nothing had happened, despite the fact that the Chamber had been wrecked by a bomb and accommodation elsewhere had to be obtained.

The fact that the Commons supported the war effort with almost complete unanimity, whereas in the 1914 war there had been a considerable and turbulent Opposition, impressed the whole world; so did the fact that some of us, who supported that effort but were critical of some aspects of the Government's implementation of it, were free to speak our mind without incurring the censure of the majority. After, *more suo*, some preliminary grumbings and growlings, Sir Winston freely and gracefully accepted the principle that Parliament, as the grand inquest of

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CHATTING AFTER A LUNCHEON PARTY AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1919: MR. CHURCHILL AND H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES (LATER H.M. KING EDWARD VIII. AND NOW H.R.H. THE DUKE OF WINDSOR).

Discussing Sir Winston Churchill's intervention in the Abdication Debate, in the House of Commons, December 1936, when he spoke in favour of H.M. King Edward VIII. by suggesting that a decision should be deferred, Lord Winterton writes: "I am sure that he was moved by a chivalrous desire to support a friend as well as his Sovereign, whom he thought had been wronged. In so doing, he deliberately risked his whole future career and his great position in Parliament."



PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE,
1908-1910. [LIBERAL.]



SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE
HOME DEPARTMENT, 1910-1911.
[LIBERAL.]



FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY,
1911-1915. [LIBERAL.]



CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY OF
LANCASTER, MAY-NOVEMBER, 1915.
[COALITION.]



CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,
1924-1929. [CONSERVATIVE.]



MINISTER OF MUNITIONS,
1917-1919. [COALITION.]



SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
WAR AND AIR, 1919-1921.
[COALITION.]



SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
THE COLONIES, 1921-1922.
[COALITION.]



PRIME MINISTER, FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, AND MINISTER OF DEFENCE,
1940-1945. [COALITION.]

A "Proteus" of Politics: Sir Winston Churchill in the many offices he has held.

the nation, has the right, privilege and duty to criticise the Government, even in wartime, when it believes it to have erred. He was strongly—indeed fiercely—concerned to guard the rights of Parliament. He agreed that it should avoid departing more than was absolutely necessary from its ordinary procedure. He made it clear that Parliament, and not he and the rest of his Majesty's Government, were the ultimate arbiters of the country's fate. We still had responsible Government in Britain. As a result, there was a mutual respect and working agreement between the Prime Minister and Parliament which did not exist in the wartime Premiership of Pitt and was far less pronounced in that of Lloyd George.

The crushing defeat of the Conservative Government in the 1945 election can be ascribed to three main causes. Sir Winston was revered, irrespective of Party, except by those on the extreme Left, as a national leader; but he had yet to prove, as he has done since, that he would make a good Prime Minister in time of peace. To many of the "floating voters" he appeared as the man who was indispensable during a war, but unsuitable, owing to his personality, to head a Government of reconstruction at home. In their view he was too much to the Right and they wanted a Government of the Left. This opinion was unfair to Sir Winston for, as he showed in speeches and broadcasts before the election, both he and the Conservative Party strongly supported the Welfare State. His opponents ignored Sir Winston's zeal for social reform in the past and his successful application of that zeal; they remembered, however, some of his enthusiasms in other directions, such as his support of two lost causes—that of King Edward VIII. and Imperial rule in India. This led to the utterly false conception of him as an old-fashioned reactionary.

But nothing that Sir Winston did or left undone in his election campaign, which was afterwards, as I think, unfairly criticised in some quarters, could move two very heavy burdens from the shoulders of the Conservative Party. We had been in control of power, even during the period of the National Government in 1931, for most of the years between the wars and were actually in office in 1939. In the 'thirties we had been under severe criticism from Sir Winston himself for many alleged faults of commission and omission, especially in the matter of armaments. It was, therefore, not unnatural that some

voters, especially Service ones, held us responsible for the appalling calamity of a Second World War. Few public commentators stated this facet of the case at the time and few still have done so since; Sir Winston was the prisoner of his own past. For he had been the deadliest critic of the policy, before and after Munich, of the Party which he was now aspiring to lead to victory. Many of his colleagues in the Conservative Government were in office at the time of Munich. It didn't need particularly acute intelligence on the part of the Labour propaganda department to use this ammunition to its fullest extent.

The other adverse factor for the Conservatives was this. It is a fact, which is creditable to the Conservative Party, but not for that reason to the discredit of the Labour Party, that far more Conservative M.P.s and candidates had been on war service than their opponents. A number of Labour M.P.s and candidates were elderly Trades Union organisers, too old to fight, and others were key men in various industries who were exempted. The favour that might be shown by electors to a man with a good Service war record was more than counter-balanced by the respect felt for a popular local Trades Unionist who had never left home, contributed usefully, in his own way, to war production, and was known to thousands of the electors. Moreover, Conservative political organisation had suffered as a result of the war far more than that of its opponents, which had been sustained by its Trades Union allies.

Sir Winston presented a magnanimous and philosophic attitude towards his defeat both in public and private. He seldom complained of it or chided the country for rejecting him. His speeches in Parliament and elsewhere, notably his famous one at Fulton, continued to focus the attention of the whole world upon him. The best of them were

magnificent alike in structure, ideas and language. But it was accepted in the Commons that he had what is usually termed a dual personality. He took part, at Question Time especially, in contests with Mr. Morrison, Leader of the House, and other Socialists of a kind which could be described as undignified for one in his position. He seemed to delight in having the Socialist Party jeering and gesticulating at him with the whole House in an uproar. Indeed, he deliberately baited them in a manner reminiscent of his attacks upon Mr. Balfour and the Tory Government of 1900. He clearly enjoyed these scenes and incidents. Indeed, they helped to sustain his spirits—almost to rejuvenate him.

In his other rôle, that of the greatest elder statesman in the world, with an experience unrivalled by any of his predecessors, his speeches received the hushed attention of the whole House. Here he was usually emollient and not pugnacious, even sometimes on controversial subjects; amid the beauty of the language and cadence of these speeches of his in big debates in the 1945 Parliament, there ran, obviously, a theme and idea (though he never stated it quite so bluntly) which could be put as follows: "We in this House can bicker and squabble and jeer at each other in the ordinary course of Party politics; no one likes it more or is better at it than I am; but there is something far greater, almost supernal, in the spirit of this greatest legislative assembly in the world; that spirit only appears on certain tremendous issues; I, perhaps of all men, am most fitted to express it." I think that this unspoken thought

was often in the mind of Sir Winston and his hearers in debates on foreign affairs in the 1945 Parliament. In their hearts the Opposition knew Sir Winston was not only a master of language but also, so far as any mortal being can be, the master of events and controller of destiny for our country as well. For they realised that, in or out of office, the tremendous personality, unimpaired and unabashed by defeat, was still there in all its strength.

In the dreary day-to-day and night-to-night work of leading the Opposition in the House, Sir Winston was less successful. It entailed tasks which were never congenial to him. These may be summarised as listening to poor speeches in debates of little moment and giving the impression to the dullest of your supporters when you meet them in the Lobby or smoking-room

that you know all about them and are most anxious to hear their views; Mr. Balfour, when he was Leader of the Conservative Opposition, was an adept at conveying to the most dim-witted M.P. the feeling that it was a pleasure to meet him; but Sir Winston cannot play that part.

As a result of his comparative neglect of sitting on the Bench when he wasn't speaking, Sir Winston was only informed at second hand of the trend of events below the surface; in addition, he missed opportunities which come to the Leader of an Opposition who is assiduous in his attendance in the Chamber. He can, for instance, unexpectedly intervene in a comparatively minor debate when something occurs owing to mis-handling by a Minister, which can be used with advantage by the Opposition.

One of Sir Winston's greatest achievements as a parliamentarian has been his leadership of the present Government. I remember the dismay which I felt when hearing the election results over the wireless in the autumn of 1951. I did not see how it was possible for a Government with a majority of only 19 to do more than carry on its duties precariously for a year or, at the most, eighteen months; and then only by avoiding controversial legislation or action of any kind which would meet with opposition in the country. I could not conceive it to be possible that nearly nineteen months later the Government should win a by-election and, according to public opinion polls, improve its electoral position in the country generally. Yet this is what has happened. Nor has the subsequent small decline in the Government's popularity, as shown by public opinion polls, altered the central fact, which is that it is unprecedented for a Government to retain its hold to the extent that this Government



THE WAR CABINET AS CONSTITUTED AT THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1940.

As the fateful year 1940 drew to a close, the War Cabinet was constituted as follows: (l. to r., standing) Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Minister without Portfolio; Mr. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and National Service; Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Aircraft Production; Sir Kingsley Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer. (l. to r., sitting) Sir John Anderson, Lord President of the Council; Mr. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister of Defence; Mr. Clement Attlee, Lord Privy Seal; Mr. Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.



That Sir Winston Churchill is certainly one of the greatest and possibly the very greatest orator of his time is very generally acknowledged ; and we show him in some characteristic attitudes and expressions, when he is speaking from the heart and soul. Although his oratory is extraordinarily various, its constant note is authority—to which all the

other graces and qualities are added as appropriate. Although in general the flow of his oratory is leisurely and even elaborate, its sudden changes of key and the use—after a reflective pause—of a simple and stunningly effective word keep his audience attentive, fascinated, galvanised, and finally heartened and convinced.



In his article in these pages on Sir Winston Churchill as a Parliamentarian, Lord Winterton refers to Sir Winston's mastery of the arts of satire and ridicule—especially as displayed in the parliamentary duels with Mr. Snowden in the 1929 Parliament—and to the impish manner to which he has often resorted. Sir Alan Herbert has claimed that Sir Winston

Churchill is one of the greatest humorists of the age—not only for the innumerable "Churchillisms" which circulate all round the world, but principally for the abundant joy in life which underlies all his utterances, trips up his enemies, delights his friends and convinces his listeners that this is indeed a good and delightful man who is speaking.

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has done after two years of office. This achievement is all the more remarkable because the Government has very properly had to use methods which can have no popular appeal in order to solve or alleviate the many grievous problems with which it is confronted. Sir Winston deserves immense credit for this result, not only for his choice of Ministers and conduct of Cabinet policy, but as a parliamentarian.

His speech on foreign affairs in May last year was one of the greatest which even he has made in his astonishing career. It had almost unanimous support in the Commons; the ideas and ideals which were its essence were acclaimed throughout the free world and even received some grudging and reluctant praise behind the Iron Curtain. But this has not been his only speech of note in the present Parliament. The general level of them is comparable in loftiness of expression and felicity of language with those which he delivered during the war.

His illness last summer was serious, according to reports which have appeared in reputable foreign newspapers like the *New York Times* and have never been denied, as they would have been, from 10, Downing Street, if untrue. Happily, it left him with his mental powers unimpaired for, since his return to his duties, he has made more than one first-class speech in the Commons; further, he has shown all his old aptness and wit in answering questions. Memorable phrases have come spontaneously from him as of yore. His vigour and resilience have shown how fallible were the prophecies made about him in the late summer. But then Sir Winston has always confounded the prophets. His spectacular rises and falls have indeed been outside the bounds of prophecy.

Sir Winston's public career of more than half a century has covered one of the most momentous periods in British history; Lord Samuel and Mr. Leo Amery are the other two eminent men who have shared that length of experience; for Mr. Amery, though he did not actually enter the House of Commons until 1910, had great influence behind the political scene as a journalist and writer from the time of the South African War onwards. I, too, in a much humbler degree, participated in the great affairs of that era as an M.P. from 1904 to 1951 and a Member, in junior and senior office, of four Governments. Sir Winston, in his supreme position, and the other three of us, in our several positions, must bear our share of responsibility for the course and current of affairs in so far as they were or are being influenced by the British Parliament.

How can the assets and debits of that period be summarised? In 1902 at home there was too much poverty and malnutrition, though far less than there had been fifty years previously. Indeed, there was continual progress towards greater material well-being throughout that period; but since 1902 it has been immensely accelerated; so that we find in the Welfare State of to-day a national standard of living higher than at any time in our history—indeed, perhaps the highest in the world.

Parliament, and its greatest Member, Sir Winston Churchill, who has made, as I have previously shown, his valuable contribution to the Welfare State, can be proud of that situation and also of the fact that we are less plagued by internecine struggles—religious, racial, class, or even political—than most democratic countries. We are an integrated people. No man has done more to produce that sense of unity than Sir Winston by his magnificent wartime speeches in Parliament.

But when we come to external affairs and the impact which the British Parliament has or should have made upon them, through the influence of the Government which, at least theoretically, it controls, the answer is far more doubtful.

When Sir Winston entered Parliament in 1902 we were the most powerful and secure nation in the world. It is true that other nations, Germany especially, were challenging our commercial supremacy. Here I must interpolate my view, held strongly by Mr. Amery, Lord

Beaverbrook and a few other veterans, that had Parliament, including Sir Winston, listened to and accepted the views of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, we could have met and defeated that challenge. For the Empire could have been turned, to the benefit of all its member States, into a closely-knit inter-trading entity. Nor would this have estopped—indeed, it would have accelerated—the natural process of self-government within those States.

In 1902 Britain, through her Government and Parliament, ruled millions of men of other races and colours in Africa, either directly or indirectly. Those millions enjoyed peace and justice of a kind undreamt of when their ancestors were ruled by native dynasties. To-day, that Empire, for reasons which were perhaps not only unavoidable but desirable, has in the main been handed back to its indigenous inhabitants. The results, however, have not always been those for which the idealists hoped, as can be seen in the great peninsula where Pakistan and India growl at and threaten each other across their frontiers.

To-day, Britain is a poor country with very serious economic difficulties and, though still the head of the Commonwealth or Empire, that Commonwealth is a very loosely-bound Confederation; it must be added on the credit side that Britain at one and the same time retains that headship and the admiration of the world alike for her courage in time of war and the way in which she is tackling her economic difficulties.

In the last half-century we have fought victoriously in the two greatest wars in history. We did so for proper and righteous reasons, but, in each case, victory, so far from solving our problems, has increased them. In the course of those wars, European countries, which in 1902 were regarded as the homeland of modern Western civilisation, have torn each other to pieces. Millions of the flower of their youth have been killed, millions more of civilians have been bombed or burnt to death or killed by torture and ill-treatment in concentration camps; the human misery thus accumulated, which is still piling up behind the Iron Curtain, is fearful to contemplate. The loss of ancient buildings and the damage to art, literature and freedom of expression as a direct result of those wars is immense.

These views and considerations may seem remote from

the title and purpose of this article; they are, in fact, completely within the ambit of both. Again and again, Sir Winston has shown in his speeches that the over-all problem for mankind is to find a means by which the nations of the world can live together in harmony without fear of their neighbours and reap the benefits of the immense improvements for material well-being which modern science has made possible. The League of Nations failed in that quest and the United Nations seems as far off success in attaining it as ever.

But Sir Winston, in his eightieth year, with both Houses of Parliament, irrespective of Party, behind him, is undaunted in his belief that success is possible. If it comes, then his share of the credit will equal in achievement his wartime leadership of the nation. If failure results, then Sir Winston, in his great position, and we, his dwindling band of contemporaries in public life, can feel no confidence that posterity will think that the summation of the facts shows a credit balance to British Governments and Parliaments from 1902 to 1954. True, both institutions did their very great and valuable part in saving Britain from defeat and invasion in two wars; but they must, with the Governments and Parliaments of other nations, share some responsibility, however small, for the fact that the world is a more dangerous and distracted place and fuller of bitter national hatreds than it was before those wars were fought.

What is not in doubt, as I believe, is that future historians will acclaim Sir Winston as the greatest British parliamentarian and national political leader of all time—alike in public achievement and private character.

END.

January 26, 1954.



THE ORATOR WHOSE WORDS REACHED THE HOMES OF MANY MILLIONS OF PEOPLE AND HEARTENED THEM IN TIMES OF DISASTER AND INSPIRED THEM IN THE HOUR OF VICTORY: MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, MAKING ONE OF HIS MANY WARTIME BROADCASTS FROM NO. 10, DOWNING STREET.

No one who heard Sir Winston Churchill broadcast to the nation during the war years will forget the inspiring effect he had upon the listener. His historic speeches were a challenge to all who heard them and made a great contribution to victory.



The Beautiful Mother of a Brilliant Son.

Lady Randolph Spencer-Churchill (née Miss Jennie Jerome, of New York), who married Lord Randolph Spencer-Churchill, son of the 7th Duke of Marlborough, in Paris on January 31, 1874, and who was the mother of Sir Winston Churchill. (From a painting owned by Sir Winston Churchill.)



THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY IN THE OPENING MONTHS OF THE 1914-18 WAR: "MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL IN HIS ROOM AT THE ADMIRALTY, IN CONSULTATION WITH ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET LORD FISHER OF KILVERSTONE." (From "The Illustrated London News" of December 19, 1914.)



THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY IN THE OPENING MONTHS OF THE 1939-45 WAR: A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN NOVEMBER 1939 OF MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN'S WAR CABINET, IN WHICH MR. CHURCHILL WAS FIRST LORD.

(L. TO R., STANDING) SIR JOHN ANDERSON (HOME SECURITY), LORD HANKEY (MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO), MR. L. HORE-BELISHA (WAR), MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY), SIR KINGSLEY WOOD (AIR), MR. EDEN (DOMINION AFFAIRS), SIR EDWARD BRIDGES (SECRETARY TO THE WAR CABINET). (SEATED, L. TO R.) LORD

HALIFAX (FOREIGN SECRETARY), SIR JOHN SIMON (CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER), MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN (PRIME MINISTER), SIR SAMUEL HOARE (LORD PRIVY SEAL) AND LORD CHATFIELD (MINISTER FOR CO-ORDINATION OF DEFENCE). SIR JOHN ANDERSON AND MR. EDEN, THOUGH NOT MEMBERS, HAD ACCESS TO THIS WAR CABINET.

At different times in his career Sir Winston Churchill has held all the Service Ministries, being First Lord of the Admiralty, 1911-15, Secretary of State for War, 1918-21, and concurrently Secretary of State for Air; and again First Lord, 1939-40. All these tenures of office have been marked by characteristic strokes of vigour, although it is his years at the Admiralty which most stay in the memory, and it is

impossible not to recall how reassuring it was in 1939 to learn that he had returned from the "wilderness" to become First Lord once more. In the upper drawing the bust on the desk is that of Napoleon; on the wall are war-maps; and the Kaiser's "latest order to his generals—Exterminate the Treacherous English"; with (below) the Churchillian comment: "What answer must Britain give?"



The destruction of the House of Commons by German raiders on the night of May 10, 1941, was a particular grief to all those who had served in it, and nobody can have felt it more than Sir Winston Churchill, who can be seen in this photograph surveying the ruins. The Prime Minister is standing pensively on what was the floor of the House.

looking towards the Ministerial benches, from which he delivered so many great orations. As he gazed at the hideous confusion, the Prime Minister doubtless recalled memories of some of the momentous occasions and dramatic scenes which he had witnessed in the old Chamber since he was elected as Conservative Member for Oldham in 1900.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL IN WAR.

By CYRIL FALLS (SOMETIME CHICHELE PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF WAR, OXFORD).

MINISTER in the two great wars of this century, and Prime Minister during nearly all of the second, Winston Churchill carried with him more than his natural gifts. He brought to his tasks more than knowledge of administration acquired in office, than oratorical power and ability in parliamentary debate. He had behind him exceptional experience of war itself. He had been on many occasions under fire. He had seen the realities of war close at hand. The wars in which he had taken part had been relatively minor—though that in South Africa does not come into the category of "small wars"—but they did provide a schooling for greater affairs. He was no stranger to the troopship or to the supply column on the march. He had seen the military machine at work and brought a critical eye to bear upon it. He had made, early in life, a reputation as one of the greatest of war correspondents, one whose reports were conned and studied not only by the public but by the Cabinet.

All this counted. Such experience is worth what he who undergoes it makes of it. At the worst, he may be like the baggage-mule of Maurice de Saxe and, after serving in a score of campaigns, remain a mule still. If he be rather higher in intelligence and gifted with rather more power of reflection, the experience may provide a nodding acquaintance with tactics and a few primitive precepts. To a good mind, full of curiosity fortified by critical ability, it is likely to be far more valuable.

From early days this equipment was strengthened by deliberate "improvement of the mind." No scholar at Harrow, though he passed well out of Sandhurst, he started to read seriously in India. Even if polo took a higher place, both his addiction to literature and the sort of literature he chose marked an unusual cavalry subaltern in the 1890's. He read philosophy, physiology and economics, but most of all history. Gibbon and Macaulay led the way. Gibbon had been one of the favourite authors of his father, Lord Randolph. Macaulay appealed to an instinctive love of rhetoric. This heady writer was to influence his style both as orator and as writer and possibly to make too deep an imprint upon it. Parcels of books came steadily from Lady Randolph. To say that he mastered all this material would almost certainly be an exaggeration; but it all had some effect, and the history a great deal.

How long he retained his first ambition to rise high in the Army is uncertain. What is certain is that he meant from the first to see active service, even if his regiment did not provide it. Within eight months of being gazetted to the 4th Hussars he got permission to go and observe some punitive operations which the Spaniards were conducting in Cuba, and sailed in early November, 1895, for Havana via New York. Nothing very much happened because the rebels, as is the way of guerrillas, kept

out of the way of the Spaniards on realising that this was a serious affair and confined themselves to sniping and a few attempted ambushes. They could afford to wait. Yet the experience had its interest and the visitor came under fire. He returned with the conviction that the siesta was a useful custom and a liking for Havana cigars, both of which he retained.

Again, in the summer of 1897, when he was home on leave from India, the periodical frontier trouble occurred, and he contrived to get to the front as a war correspondent, as serving officers were occasionally allowed to do in those easier days. With the Malakand Field Force he saw some hand-to-hand fighting and was in at least one awkward situation. He was mentioned in despatches. That business was over pretty soon, but another of greater importance was in the making. However, the

patience of a commanding officer who would doubtless have given a great deal to have had his subaltern's good fortune was not eternal. Churchill was hauled back to the 4th Hussars in Southern India.

This time the pulling of strings did not seem to make the actors dance as readily as before. Try as he would, he could not get into the Tirah campaign. He was, however, a hard man to stop when he had made up his mind. At last Sir William Lockhart was induced to take him as extra orderly officer. He arrived rather late and what he saw was disappointing. Still, this had been a big thing as frontier operations went, and had also had some exciting moments.

Churchill's messages to the papers for which he wrote had made something of a stir, which was increased by his book on the Malakand campaign. He had acquired a taste for this kind of work. Now a greater opportunity still beckoned. There was to be a great expedition to break the bloodstained power established by the Mahdi in the Sudan. This was something which he felt he must not miss. A heavy social battery was brought to bear upon the objective, with Lady Randolph in command. Even the Prime Minister fought under her orders. And they all fought without avail. Kitchener, who was to command the expedition, was unmoved. He disapproved of the application and considered that the applicant had been having too interesting a time. At last the Adjutant-General was approached. Oddly enough, Sir Evelyn Wood did what Lord Salisbury could not: partly, it has been suggested, because he wanted to teach Kitchener a lesson and show him that the Adjutant-General counted when the Government provided a British contingent. Winston Churchill was attached as a supernumerary lieutenant to the 21st Lancers, the only British cavalry regiment taking part in the campaign. And he was to be allowed to report it.

To our more virtuous age all this appears very wrong, but, if nothing else came out of it, it was responsible for an admirable book, one of

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SIR BINDON BLOOD AND HIS STAFF FOR THE MALAKAND FIELD FORCE—TO WHICH THE YOUNG LIEUTENANT CHURCHILL WAS ATTACHED, WITH WHOM HE SAW HIS FIRST ACTION, AND WHOSE HISTORY HE WROTE IN HIS FIRST BOOK—"THE STORY OF THE MALAKAND FIELD FORCE."

In 1897, Mr. Churchill, on leave from India, heard at Goodwood of the revolt of the Pathan tribesmen and of the formation of a Field Force commanded by Sir Bindon Blood. After pulling many strings he became attached to Sir Bindon's staff and saw some lively action with the Malakand Field Force against the Mamunds. In our illustration appear (not perfectly identified) Sir Bindon Blood himself, Lord Fincastle, who won the V.C. during the campaign, and Captain Dunsterville, who is generally agreed to have been the original of Kipling's "Stalky."



WITH SIR BINDON BLOOD'S FORCE (THE MALAKAND FIELD FORCE): MOVING TO THE SALERGA VALLEY FROM THE MAMUND VALLEY, IN WHICH LIEUT. CHURCHILL HAD TAKEN PART IN A FIERCE ACTION.

(From "The Illustrated London News" of Nov. 13, 1897.)



WITH THE TIRAH FIELD FORCE: THE ATTACK ON THE SEMPAGHA PASS BY BRITISH AND INDIAN TROOPS. (From "The Illustrated London News" of December 11, 1897.)

(RIGHT.) AN INCIDENT IN THE MAMUND VALLEY IN WHICH LIEUT. CHURCHILL HIMSELF FOUGHT GALANTLY: THE RECOVERY OF THE DEAD AND WOUNDED AFTER A SURPRISE ATTACK NEAR SHAHI TANGI ON SEPT. 16, 1897.

(From "The Illustrated London News" of Nov. 6, 1897.)



AN INCIDENT TYPICAL OF THE CONSTANT AFRIDI SNIPING DURING THE TIRAH CAMPAIGN: CAPTAIN BADCOCK SHOT IN THE ELBOW WHILE AT LUNCHEON. HIS ARM WAS LATER AMPUTATED. (From "The Illustrated London News" of December 11, 1897.)



A MORE LIGHTEARTED INCIDENT OF THE TIRAH CAMPAIGN: "THE 'KHAN SAHIB' HAS HIS HAIR CUT WITH THE CLIPPERS." From "The Illustrated London News" of November 6, 1897.)

While serving as a young subaltern in India with the 4th Hussars, Sir Winston Churchill twice contrived to take part in frontier actions on the North-West Frontier. In 1897 he returned from leave and joined Sir Bindon Blood's staff of the Malakand Field Force. This force saw some very vigorous fighting in the Mamund Valley, particularly on September 16 of that year, and in his book, "My Early Life," Sir Winston has described very vividly the incidents of that day—which were also recorded (in our central picture) from a sketch by Major C. Herbert Powell. Shortly after this action he was

recalled to his own regiment in Southern India. While there he wrote his first book, "The Malakand Field Force," and began his second—his only novel, "Savrola." Further trouble breaking out among the Afridis, another expedition, the Tirah Field Force, was set up under Sir William Lockhart. Lieut. Churchill pulled every string to join this expedition, which saw much furious fighting, and eventually managed to get himself attached to Sir William Lockhart's staff, but, to his great disappointment, only after the operations had dissolved into prolonged negotiations with the tribesmen.



A SUBALTERN IN THE 4TH QUEEN'S OWN HUSSARS ; SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, K.G., AS HE WAS IN 1896, WHEN HIS REGIMENT WAS STATIONED AT BANGALORE. HE WAS THEN A KEEN POLO PLAYER.



A LIEUTENANT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIGHT HORSE : IN 1899, ALTHOUGH STILL WAR CORRESPONDENT FOR "THE MORNING POST," HE REJOINED THE ARMY AND FOUGHT AT SPION KOP.



THE YOUNG OFFICER OF THE 4TH QUEEN'S OWN HUSSARS ; SIR WINSTON (THEN MR.) CHURCHILL, WHO QUALIFIED FOR A CAVALRY CADETSHIP AT SANDHURST AND WAS GAZETTED TO THE REGIMENT IN 1895.

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Churchill's best, "The River War," a new edition of which was published not very long ago. Before the Battle of Khartoum the supernumerary officer bore a message to the Sirdar, who had so long refused to allow him to join the expedition, and actually outlined the situation to him. Next day, September 2, 1898, he took part in the famous charge of the 21st Lancers. The account which he wrote of that episode is one of the best of its kind. He gave proof of one characteristic which was to abide with him: readiness to wage war fiercely and to forgive quickly. He protested against the "profanation" of the Mahdi's tomb "by Sir H. Kitchener's orders." This was not tactful, and his references to the Sirdar, though laudatory, were a little patronising; but he was leaving the Army.

He returned to India at the end of 1898 to help his regiment win the final of the polo championship, and then bade it farewell. In 1899 he attempted to enter the House of Commons in a by-election and suffered defeat. When the war in South Africa broke out he experienced none of the former trouble in getting to the scene of action. He was now a free man, and he was welcome as a war correspondent. A fortnight after the outbreak of war he sailed for Cape Town. From thence he pushed on to Durban, where he learnt that Ladysmith, for which he had been making, was beleaguered. He moved to Estcourt, as near to it as he could get. There he shared accommodation with another war correspondent, L. S. Amery.

There, too, he met again Captain Haldane (later General Sir Aylmer Haldane), who had befriended him when he was trying to butt into the Tirah campaign. Haldane invited him to accompany him in a reconnaissance of the railway in an armoured train. They got as far as Chieveley, but on the way back the train was ambushed and derailed. After a brief fight, in which he took a prominent part, though without firing a shot, he was captured by a burgher, who covered him with his rifle at close quarters. Several years later he learnt, from the lips of his captor, that it was Louis Botha who had taken him. That was November 15, 1899, only three weeks after Churchill had sailed from Southampton. This was a short war for him by all seeming. It would have ended abruptly indeed had he been shot for taking part in the fight. There seems to have been no question of that, but on the other hand there was no question of release as a non-combatant. He was examined by a young lawyer named Smuts and sent to Pretoria as a prisoner of war.

Churchill was, in fact, to see more of the war. He occupied himself with a bold plan to arm the numerous prisoners in the Pretoria area and seize the place, which was lightly garrisoned. This had to be abandoned, but within a month of his capture he escaped. He made his way, partly by train-jumping, by great exertion and in continual peril and discomfort, to Portuguese territory.

Thence he returned to receive a rapturous welcome at Durban. "Back to the Army again," he was posted as a lieutenant to the South African Light Horse, his commanding officer being Colonel the Hon. Julian Byng. Horse and adventure in plenty followed. In the disastrous Battle of Spion Kop he was nearly taken once more. He would have stood upon a doubtful and unpleasant footing with the Boer military authorities had they laid hands upon him a second time. He was present at the relief of Ladysmith. He went on to Johannesburg and Pretoria. But a General Election was in sight and politics called more insistently than ever. In July 1900 Churchill returned home.

It has appeared worth while to deal with these youthful adventures at what may at first sight appear disproportionate length. It cannot be doubted that Churchill's mental outlook—and indeed his future life—were influenced by them. He had packed an extraordinary amount of interest and experience into a brief spell of time. He had contrived to do all he had set his heart on doing, frequently in face of opposition. He had stored rich material in a retentive memory. The combination of junior officer and war correspondent is now realised to be vicious—though even in the Second World War officers with good pens were occasionally allowed and even assisted to record experiences in newspapers—but where

an outstanding personality was concerned it had one big advantage. It allowed him to "come in at two levels." He studied the war from the point of view of its command and conduct, and he fought in it as a junior officer. Whatever the faults of the system, for the man, or for this man, it was invaluable.

Churchill now plunged into the world of politics, where for the purposes of this article he is for the time being lost and must be discovered by others. From the present point of view his head does not reappear until he becomes First Lord of the Admiralty in 1911. It is, however, to be noted in passing that in 1909 he had joined with Lloyd George in opposing the demand of McKenna, the then First Lord, for extra Dreadnoughts. The event which brought him to the Admiralty, the Agadir incident, also marked a change in his views, as in those of Lloyd George.

The naval race between Britain and Germany had begun some time before, but Churchill was to see it out. The original *Dreadnought* had been launched in 1906. She was a revolutionary development, the "all-big-gun" ship based on the lessons of the Battle of the Tsushima in the Russo-Japanese War. Firing ahead, she equalled in fire-power three battleships of earlier types. This was an awkward moment for Alfred von Tirpitz, who was transforming the German Navy from a defensive or raiding arm into a fleet capable of taking the offensive. He

accepted the challenge, widened the Kiel Canal, and got through a supplementary law by the terms of which Germany was to lay down twelve battleships of Dreadnought type between 1908 and 1911 inclusive.

This extravagant building race could have been stopped, but at a high price. Germany would have agreed to the British Government's proposal for a "naval holiday" in return for an assurance that Britain would not go to war against her in any event. On the face of it the proposal was reasonable, but it hid a snag. If Germany were assured that Britain would in no case intervene, she could safely cut down naval building and devote money thereby saved to her army, and then, having reached an overwhelmingly strong position, launch an attack on France. On this rock the endeavours of Churchill and his colleagues foundered.

In the race he was successful. There was never any doubt of the ability of Britain to keep the lead if she maintained her determination to do so. Churchill's only doubts on that score were concerned with the attitude of his own party. On the Left Wing appeared opposition to the naval programme and even in the Government itself some uneasiness. Politics are politics, and it is probable that Churchill's swashbuckling attitude to Ulster over this period was not uninfluenced by the fact that strong party stuff pleased the Left Wing and made it readier to pardon what was accounted a militarist naval programme. Churchill and the country had good cause to congratulate themselves that by August 1914 the British Grand Fleet had twenty-four

Dreadnoughts and battle cruisers against the seventeen of the German High Sea Fleet.

Herein lay the most important but by no means the only important feature of three years' hard work. A new Board was appointed. A War Staff was formed. Fifteen-inch guns replaced in the latest battleships the 12-in. of the original *Dreadnought*. Oil fuel was introduced, though the great majority of warships still burnt coal.

The world crisis began on June 28, 1914, when the Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated at Serajevo. Over a month of feverish negotiation followed, the situation growing rapidly worse. There were to be no naval manoeuvres that year; they were replaced by a test mobilisation, after which the fleet was to disperse. On the advice of the First Sea Lord, Prince Louis of Battenberg, Churchill decided that the First Fleet should not disperse for the usual manoeuvre leave. This action was taken on July 26, and two days later the fleet proceeded to its war stations.

The work accomplished in those three years had been excellent. Full understanding had been established with the French about the rôle of the navies of the two nations, that of the French being mainly in the Mediterranean. Churchill had kept himself in the political world, but was now, somewhat isolated in it. He was not popular with the Radicals on the

[Continued overleaf.]



"HOW LONG HE RETAINED HIS FIRST AMBITION TO RISE HIGH IN THE ARMY IS UNCERTAIN. WHAT IS CERTAIN IS THAT HE MEANT FROM THE FIRST TO SEE ACTIVE SERVICE, EVEN IF HIS REGIMENT DID NOT PROVIDE IT": SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL AS A LIEUTENANT IN THE 4TH HUSSARS IN 1895.

In March 1895, two months after the death of his father, Lord Randolph, Winston Churchill was gazetted to the 4th Hussars. In his book, "My Early Life," Churchill says: "I joined the Regiment six weeks earlier in anticipation, and was immediately set with several other subalterns to the stiff and arduous training of a Recruit Officer. . . . I was fairly well fitted for the riding-school by the two long courses through which I had already gone; but I must proclaim that the 4th Hussars exceeded in severity anything I had previously experienced in military equitation."

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one hand. On the other, the Conservatives had not forgotten his change of sides, or the very rough treatment they had on many occasions received at his hands. The fact is mentioned as having more than a political significance. It was to count when Churchill met trouble in the conduct of the war.

Many incidents in Churchill's career were to cause discussion. Few were more warmly debated than the early affair of Antwerp, though it was for but a short time, whereas the aftermath of the more important question of forcing the Dardanelles endured longer. After delaying the German advance, the Belgian Army had withdrawn into the fortress of Antwerp on August 20. On September 27 the enemy began the bombardment of the forts. The only British aid available consisted of three brigades which Churchill hastily organised from Marines and naval volunteers, without full equipment. They were rushed across. The First Lord himself was already on the scene, with the doubtful assent of the Cabinet but the blessing of the Secretary of State for War, Lord Kitchener. He stayed longer than the Cabinet had expected and sent a message offering to resign his post as First Lord, lest Admiralty business should be hampered. This was refused. The Royal Naval Division fought stoutly.

After Churchill had returned, the end was not long delayed. The Belgian field army began the evacuation of the fortress on the night of October 6 and got clear. The 1st Naval Brigade was forced over the Dutch frontier and interned, mainly because a message went astray. The remainder escaped, though the losses were serious. Heavy criticism was directed against the First Lord. Only after the war was over did study of the German movements reveal the significance of the defence of Antwerp, which had been heartened and probably slightly prolonged by the moral and material effect of British aid. It had detained large German forces during the last phase of the Race to the Sea and facilitated the building-up of the Allied front which was to become engaged in the Battle of Ypres. If an element of the theatrical can be found in Churchill's personal actions, the enterprise which he set on foot was free from it. It was a bold yet well-designed intervention with such resources as were available and a useful contribution to a critical campaign.

The Dardanelles problem is complex and difficult to compress to the present scale. On January 2, 1915, the Russians asked for a demonstration in aid of their operations in the Caucasus against the forces of Turkey, who had entered the war in the previous October. Lord Kitchener considered that the only place for an effective demonstration was the Dardanelles. The question of forcing the straits had long been considered: it would have to be a combined operation and success would not be possible without surprise. However, on January 28, against the advice of the First Sea Lord, Admiral Lord Fisher, and despite the doubts of Lord Kitchener, the decision was taken that the Navy should try to force the Dardanelles without the aid of troops. It goes without saying that the opening of direct communication with Black Sea ports would have been more valuable to Russia than any demonstration; but the desirability of the goal ought not to lead to a departure from sound strategic principle.

On February 16, the very day of the first bombardment, it was agreed that the shores of the Dardanelles must be held if the fleet went through. Britain and France decided to prepare a force for the purpose. The second bombardment put the outer defences out of action and allowed landing parties of seamen and marines to carry out demolitions. The third, delayed until March 18, cost the loss of three Allied warships, with three others so damaged that they had to go into dock. It was then agreed that the fleet could not pass through without the aid of land forces.

The Russian request had certainly been met. Regarded as the demonstration for which the Grand Duke Nicholas had originally asked, this could not have been better. The Turks strongly reinforced both the Gallipoli Peninsula and the other side of the straits. From that point of view the job had been done and all immediate danger in the Caucasus had been removed. But for the venture now in hand the effect had been calamitous. It amounted to the strong reinforcement by the enemy of defences already difficult to force and the abandonment of any attempt to secure the element of surprise which had been laid down as essential. The first landings took place on April 25 and resulted in the seizure of narrow and precarious holdings on the peninsula.

The First Lord was given the chief blame for the vacillating policy which had been pursued. He was blamed in many quarters far more heavily than was just, on any serious consideration of the matter. The suggestion that the action taken was due entirely to his personal initiative is, it is almost needless to say, not the truth. As early as November 1914 a committee of the Cabinet, which could summon such advisers as it required, had been formed to study strategic plans. It was known as the War Council, became the Dardanelles Committee during the campaign, later the War Committee, and at the end of 1916 the War Cabinet. Churchill had not acted without its sanction at any point.

On the other hand, the preliminary naval bombardments had been a mistake, if they were to be followed up by the occupation of the shores of the Dardanelles by land forces. Assuming that it was too late to stop that of February 16—which was, in fact, broken off early by unsuitable weather—at least the others need not have taken place, and perhaps the major damage to the scheme would have been avoided if this decision had been taken. If any one man could have stopped the bombardments it was the First Lord of the Admiralty. This is a point which cannot be overlooked, though the decisions successively taken were corporate. Anyhow, Churchill became the scapegoat.

The row over the Dardanelles coincided with one about the shortage of munitions. (Churchill was to find in a later war that neither public nor politicians realised how slowly a great expansion in armaments through armament firms and entirely new national factories shows big results.) On May 25, 1915, the Prime Minister, Mr. H. H. Asquith, formed his Coalition

Government. A Conservative, Mr. A. J. Balfour, replaced Churchill at the Admiralty. Churchill accepted the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a department with few duties and less influence. He still attended the sittings of the Dardanelles Committee, but when it was renamed and reconstituted in November he ceased to be a member of it. Such a situation was intolerable to one of his temperament. He decided to resign and return to the Army once again.

Before going to France he wrote a memorandum on the possibilities of an armoured vehicle to break down the barbed-wire fences and entanglements which had already become a feature of the warfare on the Western Front and in lesser degree of others. It was typical of his genius and energy that while still at the Admiralty, which had nothing to do with land warfare, he had come to the conclusion that an armoured vehicle which would travel over rough and shell-pocked ground and break down or roll down the wire, would afford a means of ending the deadlock, and that to do so was the major problem of the war. He had even, not long before leaving the Admiralty, ordered the construction of some experimental vehicles of this nature. The task passed to other hands. In any case, he was no mechanic and cannot be described as an "inventor" in any sense. Invention was the work of a considerable team. Yet nothing can rob him of the honour of having been among the very first—and first of all among men who could translate thoughts into action—to promulgate this notable idea and push forward one of the great developments of warfare.

After attachment to a battalion of the Grenadier Guards, he was appointed to the command of the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers. His period with the battalion was uneventful because it was not engaged in active operations. The position of a man who had held high office and

played a great part in the direction of the war was somewhat ambiguous, especially when it was complicated by special leave to speak on the Naval Estimates in the House of Commons. On the amalgamation of his battalion he returned to England and to his seat. He was active in Parliament and behind the scenes in his criticism of the conduct of the war.

In December 1916 Mr. Asquith resigned and Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister. He would have been glad to include Churchill in his Cabinet. This could not at once be arranged because of the opposition of some sections of Conservative opinion, and in any case it was a wiser course to await the findings of the Commission investigating the Dardanelles campaign. They proved generally favourable. In July 1917 Lloyd George brought his old colleague and friend back into the Government as Minister of Munitions. This may not have been the office he would have chosen, but it was one which suited him and in which he



IN 1898, WHEN HE WAS ATTACHED TO THE 21ST LANCERS AND TOOK PART IN THE FAMOUS CHARGE AT OMDURMAN: LIEUTENANT WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, WHO WAS THEN AGED TWENTY-FOUR.

In the spring of 1898 Sir Herbert Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of the Anglo-Egyptian Army, was planning a large-scale offensive to liberate the Sudan from the Dervishes. When Winston Churchill learnt of this he was determined to be in it. After overcoming much opposition from various quarters he finally got a commission with the 21st Lancers. Churchill received a communication from Sir Evelyn Wood, the Adjutant-General, ordering him to report to Regimental Headquarters in Cairo, and adding: "It is understood that you will proceed at your own expense and that in the event of your being killed or wounded in the impending operations or for any other reason, no charge of any kind will fall on British Army Funds."

Reproduced from "Winston Spencer Churchill," by A. MacCallum Scott. Published by Methuen and Co.



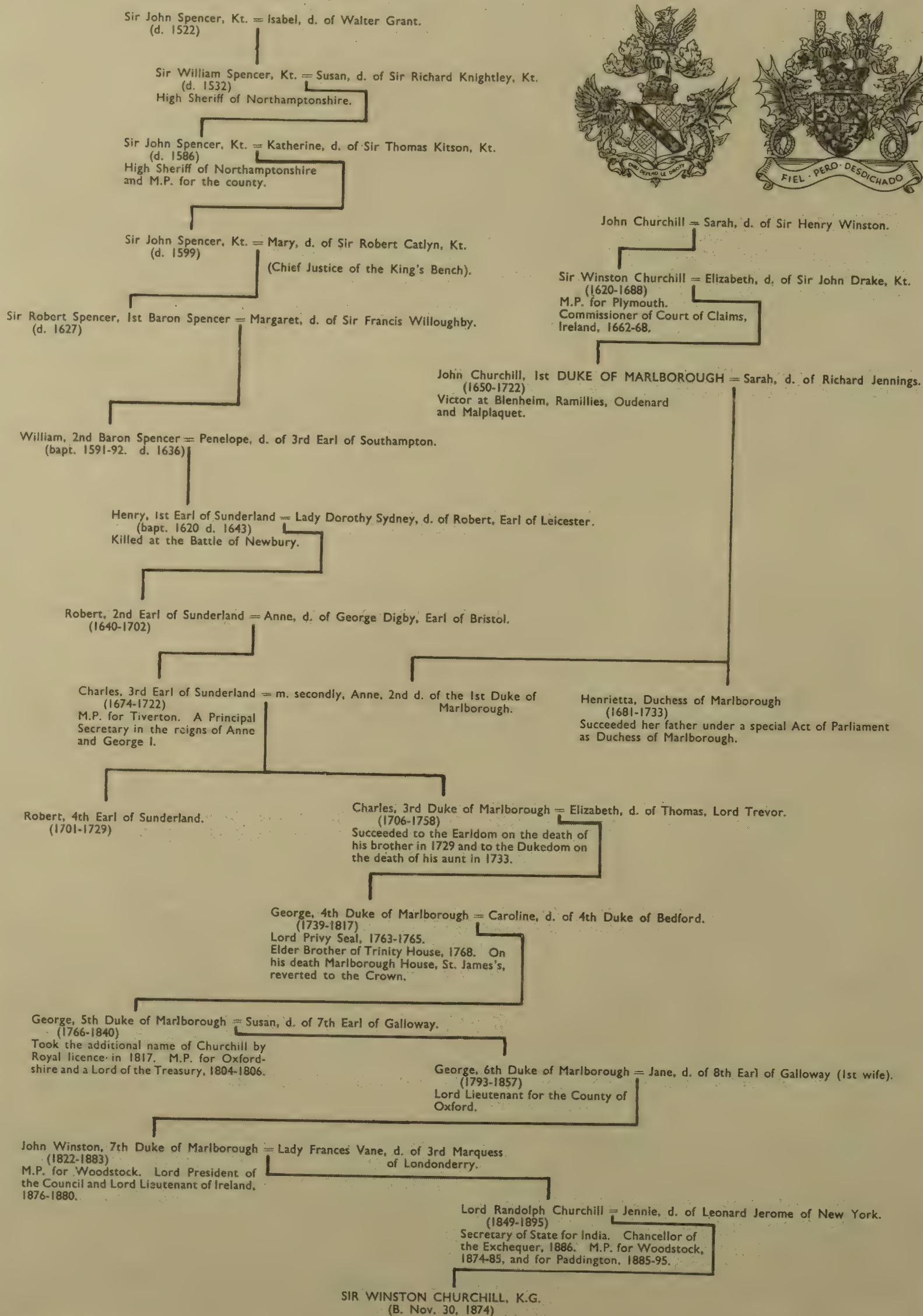
THE LAST CLASSIC CAVALRY CHARGE IN THE HISTORY OF WAR—IN WHICH SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL TOOK PART: THE CHARGE OF THE 21ST LANCERS AT OMDURMAN ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1898. (Reproduced from "The Illustrated London News" of September 24, 1898.)



THE GREAT CHARGE WHICH HAS BEEN DESCRIBED SO BRILLIANTLY BY SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL IN HIS BOOKS "MY EARLY LIFE" AND "THE RIVER WAR": COLONEL R. H. MARTIN LEADING THE 21ST LANCERS AGAINST THREE THOUSAND DERVISHES AT THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN.

On September 2, 1898, Sir Winston Churchill took part, as a subaltern, in the famous charge of the 21st Lancers at the Battle of Omdurman, when he also carried the commission of the *Morning Post* as war correspondent. Sir Winston's own account of that memorable episode ranks as one of the most brilliant of its kind in military literature.

In describing the charge Sir Winston says: "In all out of 310 officers and men, the regiment had lost in the space of about two or three minutes five officers and sixty-five men killed and wounded, and 120 horses—nearly a quarter of its strength." After Omdurman, which he came through unscathed, Sir Winston left the regular Army.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S FAMILY TREE, SHOWING HIS DESCENT FROM JOHN CHURCHILL, 1ST. DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, AND FROM THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF SPENCER, SUBSEQUENTLY EARLS OF SUNDERLAND.



"SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL" (1620-1688); BY SIR PETER LE LY (DETAIL). FATHER OF THE FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, M.P. FOR PLYMOUTH.



"LADY DOROTHY SYDNEY AS A SHEPHERDESS" (1617-1684). SCHOOL OF VANDYCK (DETAIL). WALLER'S "SACHARISSA"; WIFE OF THE FIRST EARL OF SUNDERLAND; AND GREAT-NIECE OF SIR PHILIP SYDNEY.



"HENRY, 3RD LORD SPENCER, 1ST EARL OF SUNDERLAND" (1620-1643) (DETAIL). PAINTER UNKNOWN. KILLED AT THE BATTLE OF NEWBURY.



"ROBERT, 2ND EARL OF SUNDERLAND" (1640-1702). SIGNED JOHANNES MYTENS (DETAIL). AN ASTUTE STATESMAN WHO INFLUENCED JAMES II. AND WILLIAM III. HE LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ALTHORP LIBRARY.



"THE LADIES HENRIETTA AND ANNE CHURCHILL" (DETAIL). DAUGHTERS OF THE 1ST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH; BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER. HENRIETTA BECAME DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH IN HER OWN RIGHT.



"CHARLES, 3RD EARL OF SUNDERLAND" (1674-1722); BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER (DETAIL). HE MARRIED LADY ANNE CHURCHILL, AND WAS THE FATHER OF THE THIRD DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.



"GEORGE, 4TH DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH" (1739-1817); BY GEORGE ROMNEY (DETAIL). HE WAS ELDER BROTHER OF TRINITY HOUSE IN 1768 AND MASTER IN 1769.



"CHARLES, 3RD DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH" (1706-1758); BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. HE SUCCEEDED TO THE DUKEDOM ON THE DEATH OF HIS AUNT, HENRIETTA, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.



"GEORGE, 5TH DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH" (1766-1840); BY RICHARD COSWAY (DETAIL). IN 1817 HE ASSUMED THE ADDITIONAL NAME OF CHURCHILL.



THE VICTOR OF BLENHEIM; "JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH," FROM WHOM SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL DESCENDS; BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER.
(By permission of the Duke of Marlborough.)



THE CELEBRATED WIFE OF JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH: "SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH," FORMERLY SARAH JENNINGS; BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER.
(By permission of the Duke of Marlborough.)



"SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH (RIGHT), PLAYING CARDS WITH LADY FITZHARDINGE"; BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER. THE DUCHESS, A WOMAN OF CHARACTER AND BEAUTY, WAS ONE OF QUEEN ANNE'S INTIMATES.
(By permission of the Duke of Marlborough.)



"SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH," AFTER SHE HAD CUT OFF HER HAIR TO ANNOY THE DUKE, AFTER A QUARREL; AN UNUSUAL PORTRAIT BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER.
(By permission of the Earl Spencer.)



WITH HIS MOTHER, THE BEAUTIFUL LADY RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: BEFORE HER MARRIAGE SHE WAS MISS JENNIE JEROME.



IN A SAILOR SUIT AND A STRAW HAT: SIR WINSTON, WHO WAS AT THIS TIME ABOUT FIVE YEARS OF AGE, AND LIVING AT VENTNOR.

IN PETTICOATS: A VERY EARLY MINIA-TURE OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, WHO SPENT NEARLY THREE YEARS OF HIS CHILDHOOD IN IRELAND.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, who was born on November 30, 1874, at Blenheim, spent three years of his childhood in Ireland, where his father had gone as Secretary to his grandfather, the seventh Duke of Marlborough, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1876 to 1880. He had at this time a nurse, Mrs. Everest, for whom he developed a great affection and who was his confidante in all matters. She spent twenty years in the service of the Churchill family, and when

(Continued opposite.)



Continued.] she was dying Sir Winston hurried to London to be by her bedside. After spending two years at a preparatory school, every moment of which he loathed, he entered Harrow in the summer of 1887, aged twelve. Here again he was not particularly happy, finding great difficulty in passing his entrance examination to Sandhurst. After three tries, however, he succeeded, and he found Sandhurst more to his liking than Harrow. In March 1895 he was gazetted to the 4th Hussars.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL (RIGHT) WITH HIS MOTHER AND HIS ONLY BROTHER, MAJOR JOHN STRANGE CHURCHILL, WHO DIED IN FEBRUARY 1947, AGED SIXTY-SEVEN. SIR WINSTON WAS AT THIS TIME AT A PREPARATORY SCHOOL.



AS A YOUNG BOY IN A BOWLER-HAT: SIR WINSTON, WHOSE LOVE OF HATS CONTINUES TO THE PRESENT DAY.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL (LEFT) AS A GENTLEMAN CADET AT SANDHURST, 1894, THE YEAR IN WHICH HE RECEIVED THE QUEEN'S COMMISSION.

AS A HARROW SCHOOLBOY: SIR WINSTON ENTERED HARROW IN THE SUMMER TERM OF 1887, WHEN HE WAS TWELVE.

Continued from page 18.]

did good work. In particular he expanded the production of the tank, of which he had been not the least of the numerous parents.

The war ended and his office with it. His service and his ideas had been outstanding, but he had encountered disappointments and frustrations, some at least of which were his own fault. He passed on to the War Office, where he altered the scheme of demobilisation for the better. Simultaneously, he took over the job of Air Minister. He also became involved in the policy of supporting the White armies in Russia against the Bolshevik Government. Whatever venture he undertook, he worked for it with might and main, and to the outside world always seemed to be its heart and soul. Doubtless he was the most prominent single figure in the cause. Yet, assuming for the sake of argument that the cause was not a good one, the identification of Churchill with it is greatly exaggerated. To begin with, it was an affair of allies, and he was not the British spokesman with the alliance. Then, the heaviest blame should rest, not on the policy, but on the vacillation and lack of purpose which ruined it. Upon him fell the disagreeable work of evacuation and most of the odium. It was not the first time he had laid up a store of future political trouble for himself.

Late in 1920 he went to the Colonial Office. There he was concerned once more with warlike business, in the Middle East and in Ireland, but in both cases with the object of extinguishing flames. Now, however, he passes for the second time out of the scope of this study, with a bare mention of the fact that he turned again to military history and that the first volume of "The World Crisis" came out in the spring of 1923.

The work was highly personal and therefore not in the full sense a history of the war; it was also marred by occasional over-emphasis and even by special pleading. Yet it was a great achievement, which has had a long life and will survive for many a year yet.

It is in the period of exile from office that he next appears in connection with military matters. In 1934 he stated that the air power of Hitlerian Germany was almost equal to that of Britain. He was contradicted at the time, but his information was later acknowledged to be correct. In 1936 Hitler carried out a military reoccupation of the Rhineland in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. This was altogether an ugly and ominous year; for it was also that of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia in defiance of the League of Nations, and of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, in which Germany, Italy, Russia, and France intervened in various ways. Churchill assumed the unwelcome and unwelcomed rôle of Cassandra, prophesying woe. Amply provided with information about facts which the Government desired to

hide, he used those which he thought it safe to use in the House of Commons and others in memoranda, especially to the Service departments. Warning upon warning came from his lips. He received but little support in Parliament, though what he got grew slowly, and less still in the Press.

Amid the flood of argument which he poured forth, some items were naturally less sound than others. But the main theme was correct. Even as appeasement, the policy was not well conducted. "I predict," he said, "that the day will come when at some point or other, on some issue or other, you will have to make a stand, and I pray God that when that day comes we may not find that through an unwise policy we are left to stand alone." In 1938 it was the turn of Austria; next year that of Czechoslovakia. This was the turning-point. The policy of appeasement was dropped. The country itself had at last fully realised the perfidy of Hitler. A guarantee was given to the obviously designated next victim, Poland. This meant that if an attack on Poland led to war we should fight in unfavourable strategic circumstances. The one hope was the support of Russia, but Russia only played with the proposals and had already decided to bind herself to Germany and share the spoils.

Still Churchill was not called back to the fold. It was said, sometimes with an ill-natured implication, that he would be given office again only if war became inevitable. His return, inevitably to the Admiralty, was

welcomed. People realised that he had been right all along. For himself, though all that he had foretold with horror and foreseen with depression had come to pass, it seemed as though a burden had been lifted from his mind. He was happy at the Admiralty in work which he appreciated and understood. He had the confidence of the Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, who appreciated him and with whom his relations had been surprisingly good when the bitter divergence of their ideas up to March 1939 is considered. He set about his task in a buoyant spirit. In a first broadcast in office he laid the foundation of that close communion with the nation at large which he was to establish during the long and weary course of the war.

At the same time, he knew far more of war than any of his colleagues, and the knowledge brought realisation of many unpleasant facts. The strain of the submarine war was not at first serious because the Germans still had so large a proportion of their submarines training in the Baltic, if not still on the stocks or even on the drawing-board, and there was little other real warfare going on. Yet to an intellect such as his it was clear that Nazi Germany, after long preparation for war and careful attention to the stocking of materials which had been in default on the last occasion, possessed colossal powers and resources. With such powers on a continental land mass, the effects of command of the sea could be no more than a nibbling for some time to come.

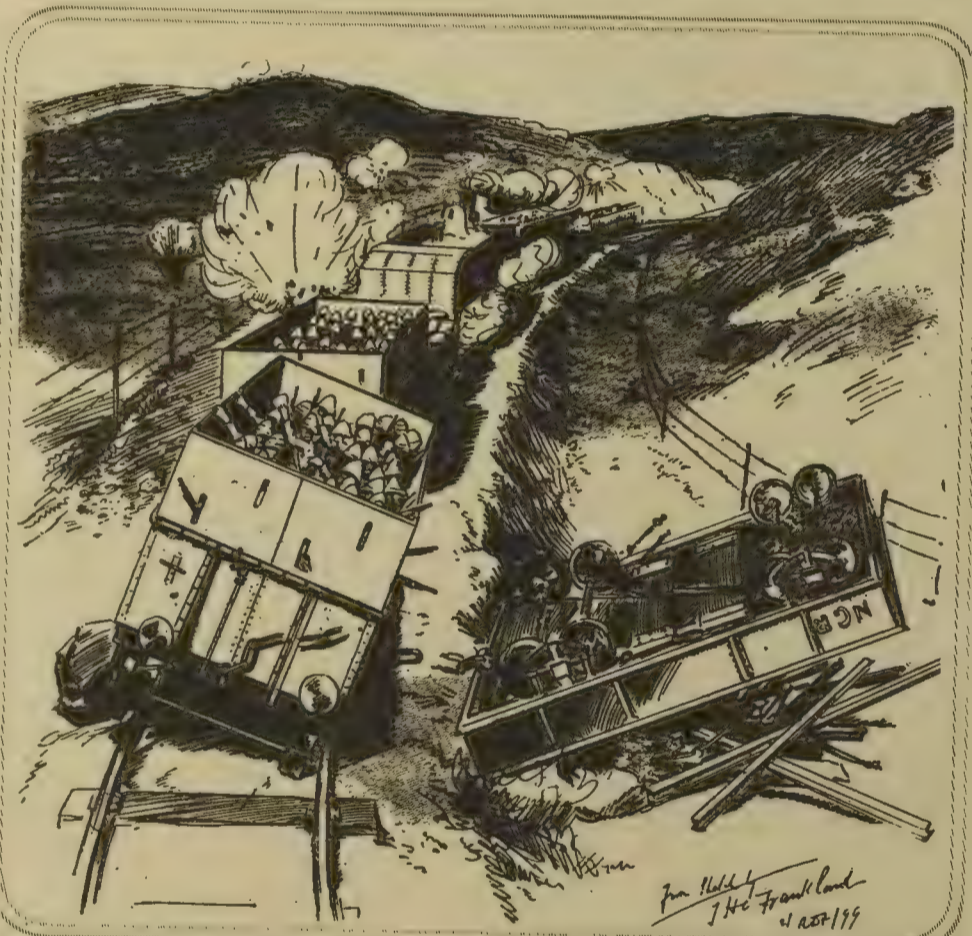
He did not realise the worst, partly because he appears to have overestimated the effective strength of the French Army, which had some fine goods in the shop window but a lot of junk in the store-room. Another

factor in his judgment may have been his strong belief in the strength of the defensive. The fact is, however, that the strength of the defensive with respect to that of the offensive fluctuates and that circumstances had particularly favoured the former since the Russo-Japanese War. The law of probabilities pointed to a reversal of the relations between the two. Most observers thought too exclusively in terms of strategy, to the neglect of tactics. One man who approached the problem from the tactical end, the Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff at the time of the German attack in the west, Sir John Dill, reached a solution which caused him acute anxiety; but he was almost alone.

The stagnant war flared into limited activity in April 1940. Germany invaded Norway. Once more Churchill found himself in a situation such as he had been accustomed to in the First World War, when a stream of orders was pouring forth from the Admiralty and the Navy had developed its fullest activity. The defeat suffered in Norway caused deep dis-

appointment and stirred up the latent dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war—most of which, if truth be told, was unjustified for the good reason that means to do more than had been done did not yet exist. Churchill wound up the debate in the House of Commons in a clever speech, but in the division which followed, the Government's majority was lopped of about 120 votes. News that the Germans were massing on the Dutch and Belgian frontiers did the rest. Labour refused to serve under Chamberlain. He resigned, and the King sent for Churchill.

More than once, on the first occasion when he was no more than forty, Churchill had felt that his political career was over. The possibility of his becoming Prime Minister, which had been when he first entered politics as reasonable to contemplate as it can ever be for a man of that age, had become remote. Now he was Prime Minister at a moment when his country faced the greatest danger of its history and stood in the greatest peril. He responded to the challenge in a spirit even more ardent and courageous than that of his second spell as First Lord of the Admiralty. He threw his heart into the struggle in France, and when that ended in hopeless defeat, strove to pick up such pieces as remained. He was always generous to the French and loyal to the alliance so long as they remained in the field, and indeed afterwards. He received firm support from the Labour colleagues who had now entered the



THE INCIDENT OF THE ARMoured TRAIN: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ACTION IN WHICH SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, WHEN HE WAS A YOUNG WAR CORRESPONDENT, BECAME INVOLVED.

(From "Winston Spencer Churchill," by A. MacCallum Scott; Methuen and Co.)

On Tuesday, November 14, 1899, as an armoured train was returning homewards to Estcourt, near Ladysmith, after a reconnaissance, it was attacked by a group of Boers. The engine-driver put on speed in an attempt to run the gauntlet, but the Boers had left nothing to chance; they had placed a huge rock on the line into which the train ran, the shock hurling the forward trucks over the embankment and jamming one across the track in front of the engine. Sir Winston Churchill, who was at the time war correspondent for the *Morning Post*, called for volunteers to free the engine, and, under heavy fire, eventually succeeded, but in doing so was taken prisoner.



AT PRETORIA AFTER A THREE-DAYS JOURNEY ON FOOT AND BY TRAIN: THE YOUNG WAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE *MORNING POST*, MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL (RIGHT), AFTER HE HAD BEEN TAKEN PRISONER BY THE BOERS ON NOVEMBER 15, 1899. HE HAD BEEN AMBUSHED WHILST RECONNOITRING IN AN ARMoured TRAIN.



WELCOMED AS A POPULAR HERO AFTER HIS THRILLING ESCAPE FROM THE BOERS ONLY A MONTH AFTER HE HAD BEEN CAPTURED: MR. CHURCHILL SPEAKING TO AN ENTHUSIASTIC CROWD AT DURBAN AFTER A PERILOUS JOURNEY, SOME OF IT IN A GOODS TRAIN, FROM PRETORIA.

Soon after the outbreak of the South African War Mr. Winston Churchill, as war correspondent of the *Morning Post*, sailed for Cape Town. He soon learned that Ladysmith, for which he had been making, was being besieged, and so he moved to near-by Estcourt. There he took part in a reconnaissance of the railway in an armoured train.

The train was ambushed by the Boers and, on November 15, 1899, after putting up a magnificent fight, he was captured. He was then taken to Pretoria and imprisoned in the State Model Schools, from which he escaped a month later. After an adventurous journey he arrived at Durban to find himself acclaimed a popular hero.

Continued from page 22.]

Government, though a few of their followers in the Commons and others in the country were to exploit the discontent which is unavoidable in a great and arduous war.

One remarkable service to the cause was his candid correspondence with the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, which had begun when Churchill was First Lord. That this played a part in the American "short-of-war" policy can hardly be doubted. He felt that he could not stand on scruple in dealing with that part of the French fleet which had not remained in French ports. Warships at Portsmouth, Plymouth and Alexandria were taken over or immobilised. A far graver step was taken in the attack on the squadron at Mers-el-Kebir, the naval port of Oran. Many Frenchmen who favoured the British cause considered that this was not only immoral but impractical. It certainly caused bitter resentment. Perhaps it might have been avoided without evil consequences, but the risk would have been great.

One vivid memory of the First World War was the relative weakness of the control of the strategy and conduct of operations. Churchill realised that the war had got out of the hands of Lloyd George, energetic and determined though he was. (That was perhaps a mercy in disguise.) He would allow no repetition of this state of affairs. He set up a machinery, with himself doubling the rôles of Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, which gave him general control and kept him in close touch with every activity of the war. More must be said later on this subject. For the moment it will suffice to note that until, in the latter part of the war the United States acquired the major initiative in policy and strategy, Churchill exercised stronger control than any British statesman before him.

He urged on preparations to meet a German invasion. The Battle of Britain, the most glorious of "dog-fights" and one of the crucial British victories of the war, was an incident which no Minister could control, however much he desired to. But the reinforcements sent, from an almost empty pocket, to Wavell in Egypt brought in vast dividends which must to a very large extent go to Churchill's credit. He went about a great deal, heartily welcomed. He had always believed in seeing things for himself. It not only gave him first-hand information and brought him into contact with the fighting forces and the people, but refreshed and invigorated his mind. It was in the war his form of relaxation. An existence spent at the desk, varied only by the Treasury Bench, became stifling and intolerable unless he could get out into the air and into the company of people who were fighting the battle in the Services, in workshops or as ordinary citizens.

During his first year as Prime Minister one of his greatest achievements—some think the greatest of all—lay in the sphere of national leadership. This was exercised in Parliament and on the radio, which had largely replaced the platform speeches of Lloyd George's great days and of his own earlier career. He did not fall into the error of speaking too often or exhorting too insistently. Indeed, he had not the time. But periodically, and in particular on great occasions, he spoke with superb vigour and effect, and with an eloquence which clearly came from the heart. In this year the great occasions included some triumphant episodes; but for the most part it was his duty to call for courage in the face of terrible danger, hope when events seemed to deny it, a high spirit in the midst of suffering and strain.

He began by telling the Commons that what he had to offer was "blood, toil, tears and sweat." There he showed himself a fine psychologist, a rôle in which he won outstanding successes but which he could

not always maintain. The Commons, the country indeed, took the words as an inspiring challenge and welcomed them. People knew too well that they had been disposed to doze and dream during the first six months of the war and had failed to realise its significance. They desired realities. And, if he talked in general terms of fighting on to victory in a situation in which victory was impossible without the intervention of the two great unengaged world Powers—one of which was in league with the enemy and might indeed come in actively on the wrong side—he made no rash definite promises. Phrases that he coined in those days have passed into the language.

To some of the colder and more cynical minds it appeared that he was catching inspiration from the people's pluck and ignorance. The cynic is nearly always wrong in his interpretation of spirit even when he gets facts right. The people were indeed inspired by courage, in which, on the whole mercifully, there was an element of ignorance. Churchill sensed their courage. It was a quality which he possessed himself in a high degree and deeply appreciated in others. No doubt he responded

to it. No doubt he would not have spoken or acted as he did if it had not existed. Yet to deny that he heartened and steeled the country is sheer fatuity, the vice of the too-clever. The country needed brave and strong leadership and felt that it was getting it from him.

People looked forward to his orations. If silence after one broadcast seemed to be extending too long they began to say that it was time they had another. He showed skill in being frank about the problems and dangers of the war while at the same time exercising discretion about its secrets. Discretion was not a virtue which came easily to him, but in this respect he achieved it. British secrets were well kept in that war. To fulfil the rôle of national leader as he did on top of the prodigious amount of work which he accomplished throughout the war, in good times as in bad, represented an extraordinary feat of mental and physical endurance. Even then it was made possible only by careful organisation of effort. His hours were made to suit his needs, though they were calamitous for some of those who worked for him. Only a few of the strongest-minded rebelled. Brooke, now Lord Alanbrooke, would finish off in the small hours of the morning a task already in hand, but he would not initiate an important new one when he felt his mind strained after a long day's work.

To deny that Churchill's spiritual leadership was weakened by the blows of adversity from time to time would be disingenuous. The process was inevitable. The uninstructed became merely impatient. The instructed felt that a Prime Minister and national leader could not profitably immerse himself so deeply in the day-to-day detail of the conduct of the war. They felt that he was not always fair to his professional advisers and did not give them enough scope. These sentiments became reflected not only in some occasional unrest in Parliament but also in the number of votes cast at by-elections for independent Left-Wingers who did not merit such support. Earlier British leaders of the highest calibre had had to face similar chastening experiences. He came in for less of it than "Billy Pitt" before the Peace of Amiens, and his position was more secure.

Being what he was, the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence was not content to ward off the dangers which beset the British Commonwealth after the fall of France or to plan counter-strokes dependent on the coming of better times. He wanted to strike back at once, as he succeeded in doing most effectively in the Middle East. His ingenious and imaginative mind evolved scheme on scheme. Those who had to

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A DRAWING FROM A SKETCH MADE BY MR. CHURCHILL AFTER HIS ESCAPE FROM PRETORIA.

In his letter to the *Morning Post*, January 24, 1900, Sir Winston Churchill described how he escaped from the State Model Schools, Pretoria, where he was imprisoned, and wrote: "... Through a chink I watched the sentries ... then all of a sudden one turned and walked up to his comrade. They began to talk. Their backs were turned. ... I darted out of my hiding place and ran to the wall, seized the top with my hands and drew myself up. ... Then I lowered myself silently down into the adjoining garden and crouched among the shrubs. I was free."



FROM AN EARLY SKETCH BY MR. CHURCHILL: AN INCIDENT DURING HIS ESCAPE FROM PRETORIA.

In a letter giving a full account of his escape, published in the *Morning Post*, January 24, 1900, Sir Winston Churchill, in describing how he boarded a goods train outside Pretoria, wrote: "... I hurled myself on the trucks, clutched at something, missed, clutched again, missed again, grasped some sort of handhold, was swung off my feet—my toes bumping on the line—and with a struggle seated myself on the couplings of a truck. It was a goods train, and the trucks were full of sacks, soft sacks covered with coal dust. ..."

The two pictures above were drawn by Mr. J. Nash, R.I., in 1900, from sketches supplied by the then Mr. Winston Churchill.



The Distinguished Author: Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., in His Study at Chartwell.

The versatility of Sir Winston Churchill's genius can seldom have been equalled in human history, and never surpassed. His qualities of statesmanship and gifts of oratory are matched by his brilliance as a writer. His first book, "The Story of the Malakand Field Force," appeared in 1898, the year before he acted as war correspondent for *The Morning Post* in South Africa. His only novel "Savrola," was published in 1900, and one of his most notable works, "Lord Randolph Churchill," in 1906. "The World Crisis" (4 volumes) dates from 1923-29; the first volume of his great life of his ancestor, the first Duke of Marlborough, came out in 1933, and the three succeeding volumes in 1934, 1936 and 1938. "Painting as a Pastime," a more personal book, appeared in 1948, and one of his greatest achievements, "The Second World War," began to appear in 1948, with "The Gathering Storm" and subsequent volumes were published in 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1952. The final volume is to be published this year.

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work them out and decide whether or not they were practical undertakings in themselves, and whether, if they were, the resources which they would draw from other commitments could fairly be allotted to them, were not timid or unenterprising. They desired as eagerly as he did to deal the enemy blows. Yet they felt some of the proposed ventures to be unwise or premature. They saw in them the risk of grave disasters and at the same time the loss of good opportunities turning up later but then impossible to seize because the resources required had previously been dissipated. These questions led to many struggles.

Here again the balance falls in favour of Churchill. He was not less than genius even when he was in error. The scope and originality of his intellect insured that nothing was overlooked. The most damaging and destructive criticism to which his projects were subjected often possessed creative implications. On other occasions, even when his views required correction, his insistent demands produced alternative or amended solutions which might not have been reached but for his urging.

Typical of the problems of the lean years was that which concerned Greece and Africa at the beginning of 1941. Militarily, the despatch of considerable forces to Greece was entirely unsound. Politically, and perhaps even morally, it seemed almost impossible to avoid. After Wavell's victories over the Italians there was a brief period before the establishment of German strength in Africa during which it appeared just possible that the British should overrun the whole coast belt up to the Tunisian frontier and so prevent the Germans from coming in and getting a foothold. Even now some shrewd critics hold that the thing might have been done. The expedition to Greece had little effect on the war on the Continent—it is doubtful whether it seriously delayed the German attack on Russia—but it made a disaster in Libya practically certain. This was a case in which Churchill incurred little public criticism—except from the lunatic fringe which conjured up armies and air forces from its imagination in strength sufficient for all eventualities. He did, however, as he must have known well, incur a great deal of private criticism. Even in the light of all the knowledge available now it is not easy to reach agreement on the course which should have been taken.

The submarine war, the anxiety about the attitude of Japan, the defence of Malta and restoration of communications in the Mediterranean, relations with the United States, the development of armoured fighting vehicles for land warfare, and that of far more powerful bombers carrying heavier bombs for the war in the air—these are some of the more important subjects with which he was concerned. After its easy start the Battle of the Atlantic went through a desperate period which showed little improvement until the summer of 1943. Defence against the U-boats depended on strategy and tactics; on the provision of escort vessels, on aircraft, and upon a series of devices for detection, interception and destruction of the raiders. Every new device came into Churchill's field of vision. There can hardly have been a phase of the war to which he devoted more attention or which caused him greater anxiety.

As regards Japan, little could at first be done but play for time. Malta was preserved by a hairs'-breadth, but the reopening of the Mediterranean depended on the land operations which followed the Battle of Alamein. Dealings with the United States went well, favoured by the intercourse between the Prime Minister and the President. Tank production was among the least satisfactory activities of the war. Britain was always behindhand. The output rate was high, but the designs were so deficient that only a very small proportion of the tanks built were ever used on campaign. Without American tanks the Army would have been well-nigh helpless. Churchill was constantly harried on this subject by a few people who knew what was going on, but he could not venture to give frank answers on a subject so vital. After some hesitation, he gave his full support to the policy of night attack on Germany with long-range heavy bombers. Not till a late period did the effects become important from the point of view of the war.

When Hitler attacked Russia Churchill did not hesitate about his course of action. It was generally expected of him that aid should be

extended to the Soviet Union, as was prudent. As usual, half-measures did not appeal to him. He reminded the House of Commons that he had been a foe to Communism for twenty-five years. But, he said, "all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding." The neutral United States Government took the same view, and its contributions to Russian equipment were considerably larger than those of Britain; yet at this stage Britain had the task of convoying American as well as British aid by the Arctic route, with heavy loss and suffering to the crews of freighters as well as warships. Hardly a word of gratitude was received in return for help which the country could ill afford.

In a broad sense the Japanese attack decided the fate of the war because it struck the United States as well as the British Commonwealth. Churchill knew it at once. He had, in fact, to be on his guard against showing too much exhilaration in converse with Americans and especially during his immediate visit to the United States. For the time being, however, the result was a worsening of the war. This is obvious as regards the Japanese triumphs in the Pacific and in Asia, but applies also

farther afield. The influence of the Japanese war on the Middle East was most unhappy and contributed to a disaster which might have entailed the loss of Egypt. Even in the Atlantic the situation deteriorated. The United States did not possess the material for anti-submarine warfare or the experience which Britain had built up so painfully, and the U-boats reaped a rich harvest in American waters.

At home the Prime Minister passed through some of the blackest days of his life. The loss of *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* was a major naval disaster. The fact that they had gone to the Far East without an aircraft-carrier was seized on by critics. And the incident fanned a low fire, hitherto innocuous, of disquiet and dissatisfaction with the whole conduct of the war. The critics had a reasonable case as regards the two warships. As regards the Japanese victories they had a poor one. Perhaps, not for the first time, they were the victims of propaganda, which had painted Japan as utterly exhausted by the war in China. In fact, if Japan had challenged the British Empire when it was at peace, and confined her challenge to the Pacific and the Asiatic continent, she would have run a fair chance of success. How could anything but disasters be expected from an attack launched when we had scarce the means to meet commitments elsewhere? Churchill kept his courage, but he was hurt as well as rendered deeply anxious.

That crisis surmounted, his political energies shifted further to the international side and more and more into the co-ordination of strategy with the United States. The Americans perceived the importance of reopening the Mediterranean, but they were chary of

being committed too deeply to it and rather suspected that Britain was influenced by her own imperial strategy, post-war as well as that of the moment. They were eager to invade north-west Europe at the earliest possible moment. As the war moved favourably on in the Mediterranean theatre—Alamein, Tunisia, Sicily, Italy—their fear that they were dissipating resources increased. They shuddered at the very name of the Balkans when it came from British lips. Heaving and strain in such an alliance were inevitable. Sometimes argument grew fierce, and it was to be even sharper later on. Had the prestige of the British Prime Minister been less, the United States would have accorded a less receptive ear to British arguments. With any nation other than the United States in the same position the difficulties would have been greater.

In the Far East the British effort had to be circumscribed. Australian forces returned to the defence of their country, but Britain could aid Australia directly only in a very modest degree. The campaign in the islands to the north passed into American hands, as did the ocean war as a whole. The main British theatre was Burma, but it was not a main theatre of the war in the same sense as the Pacific. It was also one of the last great theatres in which the fortunes of war turned. This was a disappointment, but the weight of the effort of the British Commonwealth against Japan was creditable in view of that of the past and present exerted elsewhere.

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A PLAQUE ERECTED IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, WAR CORRESPONDENT, FROM THE STEPS OF DURBAN TOWN HALL, DECEMBER 23, 1899.

When, after a perilous and adventurous journey from Pretoria, Sir Winston Churchill, at that time the war correspondent of the *Morning Post*, reached Durban, he found himself a popular hero. He was received as though he had won a great victory. A big crowd thronged the quay where his ship docked and carried him shoulder high through the streets of Durban to the steps of the Town Hall, from which he was induced to make a speech.

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In Europe the war went well. After Stalingrad the Russians hardly looked back. The Atlantic claimed as victims fewer freighters—and more U-boats. In the air the Germans were outclassed and were receiving heavy blows from the bombers. Yet, as preparations for the northern invasion advanced and Britain became a gigantic base, Churchill, the great apostle of the offensive, was clearly subject to an anxiety which the military leaders did not appear to feel. To Americans with whom he was in contact during this period he seemed sombre. Certainly the issue was vital. Defeat could hardly amount to less than disaster, and one of such a scope that renewal of the effort would be difficult in the extreme, perhaps psychologically impossible. Yet his courage was as high as ever and his mind as active and inventive. He made an effective as well as a gallant contribution to the effort required.

The campaign had its disappointments and setbacks, yet the broad outline was one of steady and inexorable victory. Victory is supposed to carry with it accord, whereas defeat engenders differences and quarrels. In this case, however, Churchill found himself deeply involved in controversy. The machinery of the command and the divergent views of Eisenhower, the American Supreme Commander, and Montgomery, the British Commander-in-Chief, were, to begin with, the main causes of friction. In the later phases another appeared. American leadership looked upon the war from a strictly military point of view which excluded political considerations. Churchill, it need hardly be said, put military considerations first, but he also looked ahead to political consequences. He felt that the Russian attitude was so unpromising as to make it advisable for the Western Allies to make the utmost use of their victorious power in Europe. The Americans had their way because they possessed not only the supreme leadership but by now vastly superior strength.

The military triumph in Europe could not have been more complete, but for Churchill it was grievously marred by the political triumphs of Stalin at Yalta and Potsdam. For the moment he was muzzled. He could not state what his views had been; he could not proclaim his opinion that many of the fruits of victory in the field had been lost through defeat over the conference table; he could not reveal that American opinion in the highest quarters actually believed that Britain might be a factor more disturbing to the future of the world than Soviet Russia. He saw the future with remarkable clearness, and most of his forebodings were to be justified. The relief of having ended the greatest of all wars by victory was still great, but he was saddened by a prospect which few besides himself could see. And at Potsdam he had not been able to sit to the end of the conference. He had been dismissed by the electorate.

Victory in the Pacific and in Burma was equally decisive. Directly the Navy was free he took the decision to send the major part of it to the Far East. So far as the war off the Japanese coasts was concerned the Americans were cool on the subject of this aid. They had, they said, fighting resources enough without it. Their shortage was in supply ships, the fleet train, and the Royal Navy would claim resources which they themselves could put to better account because they had more experience. They yielded with more than ordinary good grace. On this subject Churchill could afford to speak frankly to his public. He told it that Britain considered she had a right to that naval place in the Pacific war which corresponded with her interests, and with her strength, now that the seas in which she had fought for nearly six years—the only one of the victors that had—were clear of her foes. Before the end of the Japanese war he had lost office, had been, in his own words, “dismissed by the British electorate from all further conduct of their affairs.”

Historians have not wholly made up their minds about the qualities of the two Pitts as leaders in war, the elder upwards of two centuries ago, the younger roughly a century-and-a-half. They may be debating those of Churchill at the end of a similar lapse of time. The first comment which comes to the mind is that his early determination not to let the conduct of the war slip from political control had been fulfilled; the second, that this control was in large measure exercised by the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. He was far more powerful than Lloyd George had been, and this was due mainly to the machinery which he

set up on assuming office, though the mediocrity of political personalities, with few exceptions, in the Second World War as compared with the First, may have contributed to the result. He was touchy about hints that he was “running the war on his own,” and rightly proclaimed that he acted always with the advice and assent of his colleagues; but there was never any doubt whence the drive, ideas and initiative came.

None can deny that both the Pitts made mistakes; so did Churchill. So did Castlereagh, a very great figure in war, though he did not serve as head of the Government. With these names that of Churchill is linked. The danger he faced was greater than that of Chatham and more terrible in nature than that of the younger Pitt. Verdicts can hardly be positive in such cases, but it seems probable that Churchill will pass into the annals as the greatest figure of all. Here is indeed a marvellous reversal of fortune and a great reward for the man who at least twice thought he had failed in his political career, whose anguished warnings went almost unheeded, who seemed completely out of the running for the office of Prime Minister, and who did not attain it until he was sixty-five and his country seemed doomed to defeat.

So far, private military opinion since the war has been inclined to concentrate on the errors and on those episodes which might have proved unfortunate if he had not been persuaded to abandon his first intentions. The likelihood is that as time goes on the view will become more general, wider, more embracing, seeing the proportions more justly, and that it will then be even more favourable than is now the case. If so, the development will be right and proper, a contribution to justice. Faults and mistakes ought to be assessed as small and as not of wide influence by comparison with a successful achievement of unsurpassed grandeur. On every occasion when one turns back to take a view of the whole scene that impression returns to the mind, and each time more strongly.

War is the roughest test of the statesman; above all, of the national

leader. In peace, eloquence, adroitness and quick thinking have seen many a Minister through his career, even when not supported by ability to run a department well. This is one of the penalties democracy has to pay for not choosing its spokesmen better. The accomplishments mentioned above have their value even in war, but in time of adversity they play but a small part unless they go with brains and character. You cannot lay up a big store of credit by scoring off political opponents and

charming audiences if your foe time after time contemptuously kicks you round the world. Again, the results of war are more decisive and clear than political results, whether in home or foreign politics. The politician may go to his grave proclaiming that he has gained a cause which in fact he has lost, and find plenty of people to believe him. The politician or the soldier who loses a war will not be believed and is rarely listened to when he has recourse to putting the blame on someone else.

Churchill was armed at all points for the task. Perhaps, indeed, his one defect, that of impetuosity, sometimes coupled with impatience of warning, was one which could not have been divorced from his virtues without weakening them. It happens often enough that these virtues are not well appreciated immediately after the victory to which they have contributed, but have to wait for the judgment of posterity. The cruel treatment he received from the electorate in 1945 was in all probability due most of all to the fact that it identified him with the war and wanted that to be forgotten as soon as possible. The political side of the matter is not here under discussion, but that of the conduct of the war is already becoming history susceptible of a verdict. Churchill was not a young man when the Second World War began, but he went on strenuously breasting the years until the time arrived to consider his war activities uninfluenced by too close impressions or by war-weariness. The scrutiny of history he can face with confidence.

If what has been written has been worth while reading, there should be no need to list the virtues. Let it be suggested in conclusion, however, that the foremost was that in which this nation takes most pride and on which it has always counted so heavily in war—character. And character includes courage. END.

January 28, 1954.



DECEMBER 1915 TO MAY 1916: LIEUT.-COLONEL WINSTON CHURCHILL AS OFFICER COMMANDING THE 6TH BATTALION, THE ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS. THE SECOND-IN-COMMAND, MAJOR SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR, BT., LIFE GUARDS (NOW LORD THURSO) CAN BE SEEN SEATED ON COLONEL CHURCHILL'S RIGHT.

In December 1915 Mr. Winston Churchill was promoted to a Lieut.-Colonel and took over the command of the 6th Battalion the Royal Scots Fusiliers. The Battalion was at that time in a billeting area preparing to move into the line at Ploegsteert, near Hazebrouck. Although, during the period of Sir Winston's command, the Battalion was never engaged in any major action, it soon became obvious that, while concerning himself with the safety of his men, he himself thoroughly enjoyed active hostilities. In December 1915, *The Times* printed an interview with Corporal W. Gilliland, of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, who said: "Near here Mr. Winston Churchill is stationed and a cooler and braver officer never wore the King's uniform. . . . He moves about among the men in the most exposed positions just as though he was wandering in the lobbies of the House of Commons."



WITH GENERAL FRENCH ON MANOEUVRES IN 1910: SIR WINSTON (THEN MR.) CHURCHILL IN THE UNIFORM OF MAJOR IN THE OXFORDSHIRE YEOMANRY.



WEARING A COLONEL'S UNIFORM AND BADGES OF THE 4TH QUEEN'S OWN HUSSARS: SIR WINSTON (THEN MR.) CHURCHILL AT THE FIRST ALAMEIN DINNER, OCTOBER 23, 1945, WITH FIELD MARSHAL MONTGOMERY.



IN WORLD WAR I. IN 1916: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL SERVED WITH THE GRENADIERS; AND LATER COMMANDED THE 6TH BN., ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS.



WEARING THE UNIFORM OF COMMODORE OF THE R.AUX.A.F., OF WHICH HE HOLDS THE HON. RANK: SIR WINSTON (THEN MR.) CHURCHILL WATCHING A FLY-PAST OF METEOR JETS AT BIGGIN HILL ON JUNE 18, 1951.



THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY: SIR WINSTON (THEN MR.) CHURCHILL CONGRATULATING MEN OF H.M.S. EXETER ON THE BRILLIANT ACTION OF THE PLATE ON THE SHIP'S RETURN TO PLYMOUTH ON FEBRUARY 15, 1940.



IN THE UNIFORM OF THE 4TH QUEEN'S OWN HUSSARS: SIR WINSTON (THEN MR.) CHURCHILL IN TEHERAN ON HIS SIXTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY, IN 1943, AFTER RECEIVING GIFTS FROM OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE PERSIA AND IRAQ COMMANDS.



CROSSING THE RHINE IN AN AMERICAN L.C.V.P. WITH FIELD MARSHAL SIR BERNARD (NOW LORD) MONTGOMERY ON MARCH 25, 1945, WHEN THE VICTORIOUS ALLIED ARMIES SWEEPED INTO GERMANY: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL.

As a result of his adventurous career and the high offices he has held, Sir Winston Churchill has worn—and has the right to wear—many uniforms. He first served with the 4th Queen's Own Hussars; in the Nile Expeditionary Force, 1898, he was attached to the 21st Lancers; and saw active service in South Africa with the South African Light Horse. In World War I. he was for a time attached to the Grenadier Guards

and later commanded the 6th Bn., Royal Scots Fusiliers. He is Colonel of the 4th Queen's Own Hussars; Hon. Colonel of a number of regiments; and Hon. Air Commodore in the R.Aux.A.F. As Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Elder Brother of Trinity House, he has other uniforms; and when First Lord of the Admiralty (1939-40) on official occasions wore the cap designating that office.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL—THE MAN.

BY E. D. O'BRIEN, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION SERVICES, CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE, 1946-49.

THE late Philip Guedalla complained of Sir Winston Churchill's great friend and contemporary, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, that there were "too many of him." In the collection, he grumbled, there were at least three totally distinct varieties of poet, "a patient mediævalist, an amateur of guns, a skilful epigrammatist, a passable master of the ballad, and of the ballade as well, and a sonneteer." Among the prose-writers who made up Mr. Belloc, there was a journalist, a historian of the French Revolution, a geographer of Roman roads, and a historian of the same period, an amateur expert in the art of war, a novelist, an economist, an ex-Member of Parliament, and a French artillery driver.

But if Mr. Guedalla found Mr. Belloc's infinite diversity almost a trifle disconcerting, what is one to say of Sir Winston Churchill?

Indeed, contemplating the life-work of Sir Winston, one's reaction can only be that of Job, when the Almighty put to him the direct question:

"Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?"

How is one to comprehend such greatness, how is one to encompass in a short space so much versatility? For it is the infinite scope of the canvas of Sir Winston Churchill's life which is a little daunting. Does one contemplate him as a soldier? By World War I. he had more medals than any commanding officer on either combatant side. As a statesman and a politician? Purely—as our American allies say—"for the record," he has held virtually every important Department of State. As a writer? There are few greater masters of the written and spoken word in the English language to-day. One can pursue the topic down to the delights of polo-playing, or the mild eccentricities of brick-laying.

History will be the loser by the fact that in his greatest hours in the last war, although he was surrounded by a

number of able, distinguished and devoted aides, all were so busy that not one of them could be Boswell to Sir Winston's Dr. Johnson. Perhaps this is not wholly surprising. Even that pertinacious biographer would have found it difficult to keep pace with the flow of *Churchilliana*. For it is not merely in his books and in his speeches that Sir Winston reveals himself, or gives full rein to that wonderful command of the English language, flowing from that vast store-house of general knowledge.

I recall at one stage in the war having to take a Brazilian delegation to see Sir Winston at No. 10, Downing Street. It was after lunch. The Prime Minister said to me: "And what have you got for me to-day, O'Brien? Argentines?" "No, Sir. Brazilians," was my reply. "Pray show them in." We went into the Cabinet Room by one door, Sir Winston entering by another. Greeting the Ambassador, he said: "Your Excellency and gentlemen, pray take your places round this table, at which so many decisions—some good, some bad [and then, with the inimitable Winstonian twinkle, for it was a time when Messrs. Shinwell and Bevan were sniping at him] but *all*, to judge from my critics, distinctly indifferent, have been taken."

He then proceeded to deliver a speech which was so beautifully balanced, and showed such deep knowledge of the history, geography, politics and economics of Brazil (a country he had never visited), that a British Ambassador to Brazil for the previous ten years would have been hard put to better it. As I recall it, he began by welcoming the Brazilians, coming from a country "greater than Europe without Russia, and the United States of North America without Texas." Note that touch. The official name for Brazil is the "Estados Unidos do Brazil." By the simple and knowledgeable insertion of the words "United States of North America," Sir Winston, by implication, placed Brazil on the same footing as her greater neighbour to the north. For the rest, the Churchillian flow of language had such an effect on his hearers that at dinner that evening I asked one of my Brazilian friends why the usually voluble leader of the delegation was sitting silent, with a far-away look in his eyes. "Oh," he replied, "he has been like that since this afternoon."

He can think of nothing except Mr. Churchill."

But if, alas! human memory is fallible, and so a vast proportion of Winstonisms are irretrievably lost, the world is fortunate in that Sir Winston, from his youth, was always an indefatigable autobiographer. To have re-read, as I have done recently, virtually all his published works and most of his major speeches is an extraordinary intellectual and, indeed, emotional experience. It is to have dwelt with greatness, walked with wisdom, and to have touched life nearly in every continent and over four generations.

"First the infant."

But I find it difficult to believe that Sir Winston, in spite of his remark, "All babies look like me, but then I look like all babies," was ever small or helpless. It is impossible to imagine him, for example, "mewling." Just as Minerva sprang, fully-armed, from the forehead of Jupiter, and

just as one cannot imagine a chrysalis stage, a mere rank of corporal, for a Guards R.S.M., so I am hardly convinced, whatever evidence there is to the contrary, that Sir Winston, from his Harrovian days onwards, was anything but fully and adequately mature.

Like all of us, Sir Winston had, of course, his earliest and most vivid memories. There was the time when he was in Dublin and his grandfather was Viceroy. "I recall even a phrase he used: 'and with a withering volley he shattered the enemy's line.' I quite understood that he was speaking about war and fighting and that a 'volley' meant what the black-coated soldiers (Riflemen) used to do with loud bangs so often in the Phoenix Park where I was taken for my morning walks. This, I think, is my first coherent memory." His mother, whose beauty and intelligence the late Lord D'Abernon described in moving terms, he admired and adored. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill, he admired at the distance which Lord Randolph put between them. He longed desperately to be taken into that brilliant, if ill-advised, statesman's confidence. Alas, as he himself has recorded: "But if ever I began to show the slightest idea of comradeship, he was immediately offended; and

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A RELIC OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S INFANCY: A BABY VEST WHICH HE ONCE WORE, PRESERVED AT BLENHEIM PALACE, WOODSTOCK, OXFORDSHIRE, IN THE ROOM WHERE HE WAS BORN.

The small ground-floor bedroom at Blenheim Palace where, on November 30, 1874, Lady Randolph Churchill gave birth to the baby son who was to be named Winston Leonard, now forms a little museum of Churchilliana, preserved to honour Sir Winston Churchill, K.G. The objects on view include early relics of his infancy, such as the golden curls cut from his head at the age of five years, which we illustrate in colour on another page; and the baby vest he once wore, which is shown with a sachet for holding handkerchiefs or other small objects of his infant wardrobe. On the walls of the room, in addition to paintings by Sir Winston Churchill and a photostat copy of a Boer reward notice offering £25 for the "capture of the escaped prisoner Churchill, dead or alive," there is a caricature by Max Beerbohm dated 1910. It shows Mr. Winston Churchill, as he was then, explaining to his cousin the then Duke of Marlborough, that, as he had stated in several speeches, there was nothing in the controversial Lloyd George Budget, which had created widespread dismay in the City and among the propertied classes, "to make it harder for a poor hardworking man to keep a small house in decent comfort." The vast pile of Blenheim Palace is shown in the background of the cartoon.



THE SIMPLE BIRTHPLACE OF A GREAT MAN: THE SMALL GROUND-FLOOR ROOM AT BLENHEIM PALACE WHERE SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, K.G., WAS BORN ON NOVEMBER 30, 1874.

ON November 30, 1874, Lady Randolph Churchill was staying at Blenheim Palace, the home of her father-in-law, the seventh Duke of Marlborough. She was expecting a baby, but had gone out to watch the shooting from a carriage when she was suddenly taken ill. She was rushed back to the Palace and hurriedly put to bed in a small room on the ground floor, the nearest bedroom to the main entrance, where she gave birth to a boy who received the names of Winston

[Continued opposite.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S INFANT CURLS, CUT FROM HIS HEAD AT THE AGE OF FIVE, PRESERVED AT BLENHEIM PALACE.

Leonard. The room now contains the same furniture as on that historic day, as well as objects connected with Sir Winston Churchill. These include two paintings by him, an autographed framed photograph, a glass case containing a baby vest he wore, his golden baby curls, cut from his head at the age of five, and a photostat copy of a reward notice showing the Boer offer of £25 for the "capture of the escaped prisoner, Churchill, dead or alive."

Colour photographs by George Varjas/Reflex.



Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., was born in Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, Oxfordshire, home of his grandfather, the seventh Duke of Marlborough. Vanbrugh's great pile, built to express the country's gratitude to the first Duke of Marlborough, victor of Blenheim, is of immense size, as our air photograph indicates. It is entered by the gateway over which a flag flies (background) which leads into a quadrangle from which visitors pass into the

main courtyard, with colonnades on either side, to reach the main door. The State apartments contain Brussels tapestries commemorating Marlborough's victories and a series of paintings, including portraits of the great Duke and his Duchess and those who came after them, while, in a small ground-floor bedroom (illustrated in colour on another page) are assembled relics of their greatest descendant, Sir Winston Churchill, K.G.

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when once I suggested that I might help his private secretary to write some of his letters, he froze me into stone. I know now that this would have been only a passing phase. Had he lived another four or five years, he could not have done without me. But there were no four or five years ! ”

Though he never specifically says so, it is clear that in those early childhood years the place in the affection-starved heart of the little red-headed boy which should have been occupied by dazzling mother and brilliant father, was taken by that remarkable character, Mrs. Everest—the nurse whom in later years Sir Winston insisted on taking arm-in-arm round Harrow. The Harrow of those years did not approve, but what a delightful character Mrs. Everest must have been, and how easy it is for us to share Sir Winston's affection. From Mrs. Everest Sir Winston learnt his love of the county which was to be his home, and where his house, thanks to a warm-hearted gesture on the part of Mr. Attlee after the war, was presented to him by the nation, and will be a Churchill museum in the future. Kent was, “Mrs. Everest said, ‘the garden of England.’” She had been born at Chatham, and was immensely proud of Kent. No county could compare with Kent, any more than any other country could compare with England. Ireland, for instance, was nothing like so good. As for France, Mrs. Everest, who had at one time wheeled me in my perambulator up and down what she called the ‘Shams Elizzie,’ thought very little of it. Kent was the place. Its capital was Maidstone, and all round Maidstone there grew strawberries, cherries, raspberries and plums. Lovely ! I always wanted to live in Kent.” He had his wish, and I feel sure that the shade of Mrs. Everest is benignly satisfied.

Mrs. Everest did her best for him right up to the time, which he dreaded, when what he calls “THE GOVERNESS” arrived. “Her arrival was fixed for a certain day. In order to prepare for this day Mrs. Everest produced a book called ‘Reading Without Tears.’ It certainly did not justify its title in my case. I was made aware that before the Governess arrived I must be able to read without tears. We toiled each day. My nurse pointed with a pen at the different letters. I thought it all very tiresome.

Our preparations were by no means completed when the fateful hour struck and the Governess was due to arrive. I did what so many oppressed peoples have done in similar circumstances : I took to the woods.”

His preparatory school he hated—and how the present writer sympathises with him !—but even there his remarkable individuality asserted itself. He was seven when he went there. His first encounter was with the Latin master, who made him conjugate *mensa*, which, owing to his already remarkable memory, he was able to do, parrot-wise, almost at once. Emboldened by his success, he asked the master what it all meant.

“‘It means what it says. *Mensa*, a table. *Mensa* is a noun of the First Declension. There are five declensions. You have learnt the singular of the First Declension.’

‘But,’ I repeated, ‘what does it mean ?’

‘*Mensa* means a table,’ he answered.

‘Then why does *mensa* also mean O table ?’ I enquired. ‘And what does O table mean ?’

‘*Mensa*, O table, is the vocative case,’ he replied.

‘But why O table ?’ I persisted in genuine curiosity.

‘O table—you would use that in addressing a table, in invoking a table.’ And then seeing he was not carrying me with him, ‘You would use it in speaking to a table.’

‘But I never do !’ I blurted out in honest amazement.

‘If you are impertinent, you will be punished—and punished, let me tell you, very severely,’ was his conclusive rejoinder.”

Every schoolboy who has crossed that same *pons asinorum* must have felt with Sir Winston the absurdity of that ludicrous vocative, but few of us, at the age of seven, have ventured to argue about it. Indeed, one has a sneaking retrospective sympathy for the long-forgotten usher.

From his unhappy first prep. school (after three years at a school in Brighton) he went to Harrow.

For many years past it has been his habit to attend Speech Day at Harrow, and join with the sentimental fervour which has always been one of his most endearing characteristics in the singing of “Forty Years On,” and other Harrovian songs. The truth is, however, that he was not in fact happy at Harrow. “I was,” he wrote, “on the whole considerably discouraged by my school days. . . . I am all for the public schools, but I do not want to go there again.” It was not, on the whole, surprising that Harrow and Sir Winston did not at the time happily mix. His first exploit there was to push Mr. Leo Amery, later to become his lifelong friend, then a Sixth-Former, into the swimming-bath. The future Sir Winston's explanation to the future holder of so many Cabinet offices was not, if the story is true, wholly tactful—as it referred to Mr. Amery's lack of inches, adding, magnanimously, however : “My father, who is a great man, is also small.”

Nevertheless, it was at Harrow that he acquired the foundation of his love for, and mastery of, the English language, and in addition displayed for the first time that prodigious memory which has made him the delight

of listeners and, sometimes, the terror of colleagues or private secretaries. It is surprising that Sir Winston, whose speaking and writing style has so much of the “noble Roman” in it, not merely could make nothing of Latin and Greek, but actively disliked the Classics which were forced on him. He was, however, happy in the English master, a Mr. Somervell, of whom he said that he was “a most delightful man to whom my debt is great”—and who was—“charged with the duty of teaching the stupidest boys the most disregarded thing—namely, to write mere English.” It was a lesson which, to the world's advantage, he learnt for life. “Naturally,” he said, “I am biased



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL AS A YOUNG BOY : THE FUTURE PRIME MINISTER, SEATED ON THE END OF A BENCH NEXT TO HIS MOTHER, LADY RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (HOLDING BOUQUET), AT A GARDEN-PARTY GIVEN BY SIR WHITAKER AND LADY ELLIS AT BUCCLEUCH HOUSE, RICHMOND, IN ABOUT 1886.

This early photograph of Sir Winston Churchill with his mother, taken at a garden-party at Buccleuch House, Richmond, Surrey, in about 1886, when Sir Winston was twelve years old, was sent to us by one of our readers who is a descendant of Sir Whitaker Ellis. The Prime Minister can be seen in the front row, apparently the only child present, seated next to his mother, Lady Randolph Churchill, who is holding a bouquet of flowers. Standing behind Sir Winston is Sir Whitaker Ellis, owner of the house at the time, who, with his wife, Lady Ellis (seated next to Lady Randolph Churchill—with parasol), was giving the party. In 1937 Buccleuch House and gardens were purchased by the Richmond Borough Council, and the house, which stood on the Surrey side of the river below the Star and Garter Home, was demolished.

in favour of boys learning English. I would make them all learn English : and then I would let the clever ones learn Latin as an honour, and Greek as a treat. But the only thing I would whip them for is not knowing English. I would whip them hard for that.” Having been chastised—metaphorically—by Sir Winston myself on one memorable occasion, I know how strongly he feels about it. This was during the period when he was in Opposition. I was summoned to see him at his house in Hyde Park Gate. I was describing certain activities which it was my duty to carry out in connection with the reorganisation of the Conservative Party machine. Sir Winston, sitting up in bed, with a vast bed-table, with reading-rack and two Sorbo-rubber strips for his elbows in front of him, was cross-examining me. I described to him certain things which I had already done. I then went on to mention certain directions in which I hoped to achieve results in the future. “But those, I am afraid, Sir, are at the moment vestigial.” “What did you say ?” came from the bed. “Vestigial, Sir.” “Huh. Pray proceed.” Some twenty minutes later, Sir Winston interrupted my narrative with : “I think you meant skeleton.” I was obviously a little puzzled. Then he went on : “A little while ago you used the word ‘vestigial’ (the first ‘i’ being typically pronounced long, as in ‘neck-tie’). I think you meant skeleton.” I was by then fairly clear in my own mind that I was wrong (though one out of the three great dictionaries supports me), but I was determined to stick to my guns in order to see what happened. “No, Sir,” I said, “I meant a tracing, an outline.” Sir Winston frowned on me, and said : “I accuse you of using words in their wrong meaning. Have you looked

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On August 6, 1908, the home of the Finch family, Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutlandshire, was destroyed by fire. The tenant, Captain Guest, was entertaining a large house-party at the time, which included the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, then President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Churchill, who can be seen in this illustration of the incident (right),

did yeoman service clad in pyjamas and wearing a fireman's helmet. Again and again he dashed into the flames, to reappear, smoke-begrimed and with smarting eyes, bearing valuable salvage from the burning mansion. He also helped to cut the lead from the roof in order to make a passage for the hose.

Reproduced from a drawing by S. Begg, in "The Illustrated London News" of August 15, 1908.

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it up in the dictionary?" On my saying that I had not, he picked up a telephone and said: "Pray bring me the Oxford English Dictionary—open at the word 'vestigial.'" When the dictionary arrived, he ran a finger down the page, and read out: "Vestigial—appertaining to a vestige now degenerate, and of little or no utility but ancestrally well developed." And then, twinkling at me in the inimitable Churchill way over his bifocal glasses, he added: "And never let those phrases be applied to you, my dear." He then went on to take exception to a popular Americanism which I had allowed to creep into my conversation. Further work was abandoned, and the next half-hour was devoted to a Winstonian dissertation on philology.

The idea of soldiering had always attracted Sir Winston, from the time when his collection of toy soldiers—a full infantry division strong, together with a cavalry brigade—had numbered several thousand. It was therefore Sandhurst for him—a Sandhurst which he got into with difficulty but which he appeared to have enjoyed with his usual zest. He had to spend several months in the "Awkward Squad, formed from those who required special smartening-up." The life of a gentleman cadet was not very exacting. "We were never taught anything about bombs or hand-grenades, because, of course, these were known to be long obsolete. They had gone out of use in the eighteenth century, and would be quite useless in modern war." It may be recalled that a year or two ago a picture appeared in the Press of Sir Winston, at the age of seventy-five, out hunting. It was Sandhurst which inspired his love of riding, which has remained with him ever since. "And here I say to parents, especially to wealthy parents, 'Don't give your son money. As far as you can afford it, give him horses.' No one ever came to grief—except honourable grief—through riding horses. No hour of life is lost that is spent in the saddle. Young men have often been ruined through owning horses, or through backing horses, but never through riding them; unless, of course, they break their necks, which, taken at a gallop, is a very good death to die."

Sandhurst was a happy period. "When I look back upon them I cannot but return my sincere thanks to the high gods for the gift of existence. All the days were good and each day better than the other."

One of the secrets of Sir Winston's hold on the imagination of the country has always been his perpetual youthfulness. He still feels himself the young man who wrote: "Twenty to twenty-five! These are the years! Don't be content with things as they are. 'The earth is yours and the fulness thereof' . . . Don't take

No for an answer. Never submit to failure. Do not be fobbed off with mere personal success or acceptance. You will make all kinds of mistakes; but as long as you are generous and true, and also fierce, you cannot hurt the world or even seriously distress her. She was made to be wooed and won by youth. She has lived and thrived only by repeated subjugations."

Here, surely, is Sir Winston's central philosophy of life. The words "and also fierce" reveal the essential man. Others will write of Sir Winston as a soldier, of his happy period in the 4th Hussars, under the redoubtable Colonel Brabazon—the same "Brab" who, when appointed to command an infantry regiment, replied to a question from a friend: "What do you belong to now, Brab?" with "I never can remember, but they have gween facings, and you get at 'em from Waterloo." Life must indeed have been very good for this energetic and active-minded young man, who shamelessly pulled strings and importuned superior officers in order to get himself on active service. Although colonels might feel that he should perhaps pay a little attention to the regiment to which he belonged, Sir Winston was successful in his free-lance activities. With what glee (and how vividly) does he describe his experiences in Cuba with the Spaniards, or with Sir Bindon Blood's

force in the Mamund Valley, while the description of the charge of the 21st Lancers at Omdurman, in which he took part, will always remain one of the finest examples of battle literature.

But while he was campaigning, or carrying out the more prosaic duties of the peace-time soldier, Sir Winston was preparing himself for a newer and wider life. Polo, which he adored, and at which he shone, was all very well, but there were heavy tasks ahead. There was politics, to which he had been early attracted, and there was writing. Indeed, under the curious military arrangements of the day, it was difficult to decide whether Lieutenant Churchill was a soldier-journalist or a journalist-soldier. His despatches in the *Morning Post* and for other publications had early attracted attention. There was already something more than a hint of the greatness to come, and the skill to be acquired. It has always been Sir Winston's view that nothing is achieved except by hard work and application. So he wrote to his mother, asking her to send him out books for reading in Bangalore. He had heard that his father admired Gibbon, that he could quote long passages by heart. So

Gibbon was his first and happiest choice. "I was immediately dominated both by the story and the style. All through the long, glistening middle hours of the Indian day, from when we quitted stables till the evening shadows proclaimed the hour of Polo, I devoured Gibbon. I rode triumphantly through it from end to end and enjoyed it all."

From Gibbon he went on to Macaulay, that "prince of literary rogues, who always preferred the tale to the truth." Steadily he applied himself. For months on end he read for four or five hours every day. It was a curious education. There was Plato's "Republic," the Politics of Aristotle, Schopenhauer on Pessimism and Malthus on Population. There was Darwin's "Origin of Species." There were religious books, and for a short time the future Prime Minister was dominated by the prevailing Rationalism of the end of the nineteenth century. "I passed through a violent and aggressive anti-religious phase which, had it lasted, might easily have made me a nuisance. My poise was restored during the next few years by frequent contact with danger. I found that whatever I might think and argue, I did not hesitate to ask for special protection when about to come under the fire of the enemy: nor to feel sincerely grateful when I got home safe to tea. I even asked for lesser things than not to be killed too soon, and nearly always in these years, and indeed throughout my life, I got what I wanted. This practice seemed perfectly natural, and just as strong and real as the reasoning process

which contradicted it so sharply. Moreover, the practice was comforting and the reasoning led nowhere."

Thus prepared, the young Churchill left the Army, and in due course (though after one setback) was returned as M.P. for Oldham. Pugnacious, brilliant, sure of himself, he had already seen more campaigning than most soldiers do in a lifetime. He had already packed into his twenty-five years enough experience to last most men for their normal span. He was then a Conservative, but already his convictions showed a Liberal streak which was not totally pleasing to the Party leaders. When, for example, he made his maiden speech, he used the phrase: "The Boers who are fighting in the field—and if I were a Boer, I hope I should be fighting in the field." This typical piece of Winstonian generosity caused a *frisson* on the Treasury Bench. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who had declared that a vote for the Opposition "is a vote for the Boers," stiffened in his seat, while George Wyndham said to him afterwards: "That is the way to throw seats away." His slow movement away from the Conservative Party and towards Liberalism was therefore nothing surprising. He regarded his father, Lord Randolph Churchill—the inventor of Tory Democracy, who had been so shockingly treated by the

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SECURELY PLACED ON THE LADDER OF FAME AT THE EARLY AGE OF THIRTY-THREE: MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL IN WAX AT MADAME TUSSAUD'S IN 1908.

The year 1908 was one of the most momentous in Sir Winston Churchill's crowded life—for it was in that year that he got married, entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade, and appeared in wax at Madame Tussaud's. Since then Madame Tussaud's Exhibition has never been without a model of Winston Churchill. The original model was replaced by one which was made by the late John Theodore Tussaud during World War I., this second one being destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1925. When the Exhibition reopened in 1928 it included a new figure of Winston Churchill which was the work of Mr. Bernard Tussaud; this was replaced by yet another model in 1936, and in 1940 Mr. Churchill gave Mr. Bernard Tussaud a special sitting at Chartwell for the fifth figure. This last model was replaced by another in 1945, and the present one—the seventh—was made with those for the Conservative Cabinet, in 1951. The clothes on the current figure are correct in every detail, having been made by Sir Winston's own tailors.



It was the famous war correspondent, G. W. Steevens, who, returning with Mr. Churchill after the Battle of Omdurman, wrote: "Winston Spencer Churchill is the youngest man in Europe. . . . But . . . a man, with ambitions fixed, with the steps towards their attainment clearly defined with a precocious, almost uncanny judgment." Two years later Mr. Churchill had been to the Boer War, returned as a hero and a great public figure and been elected, as a Conservative, a Member for Oldham. In Parliament he was the contemporary, rival and later colleague, of the also-brilliant David Lloyd George.

In 1904 he crossed the Floor and joined the Liberals; in 1906 he was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies under Lord Elgin, and in 1908 he was President of the Board of Trade. By this date—the general date of this photograph—he had also established himself as a writer, with "The Malakand Field Force," "The River War," "Savrola," "London to Ladysmith via Pretoria," "Ian Hamilton's March," "Lord Randolph Churchill," and "My African Journey" to his credit; and in that same year, in his own words, he "married and lived happily ever afterwards."

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Conservative Party—as more of an eighteenth-century Whig than a Conservative. I believe that that would be equally true of Sir Winston throughout his career, for all that he has urged his followers to use the short, sharp word “Tory,” instead of the longer and woollier “Conservative.”

The early years of the century were as formative for him, however, as his experience in the field in the last years of the nineteenth century had been. He was already extremely well known, largely because of his dramatic escape from the Boers, and in the new world of politics he was making his mark, even if, from time to time, his contemporaries thought it a question-mark. During this time he was following the precepts laid down by the hero of his one novel, “Savrola”: “‘Would you rise in the world?’ said Savrola. ‘You must work while others amuse themselves. Are you desirous of a reputation for courage? You must risk your life. Would you be strong morally or physically? You must resist temptations. All this is paying in advance; that is prospective finance. Observe the other side of the picture, the bad things are paid for afterwards!’”

But the long period of Conservative supremacy, the Hatfield era, was drawing to a close. The Party was rent and torn by the controversy over Tariff Reform. Winston Churchill was becoming less and less happy. Mr. Guedalla says: “Came at this crucial moment a lively issue, which sent him careering out of his Party on the Free Trade question. The Tory brave was copiously sprinkled with the pure milk of Mr. Cobden’s words. He watched his arms before that blameless altar. These rites concluded, he was received into the victorious Liberal host of 1906.”

For the next few years Sir Winston, though uneasy with his new associates over the subject of the German threat, was an orthodox Liberal politician, denouncing Tory landlords and recalcitrant peers with a fervour which, while it lacked the essential vulgarity of Lloyd George’s Limehouse efforts, was nevertheless sufficiently wounding to his former friends to affect the course of history. For if it had not been for the deep distrust of him nourished by Bonar Law and other leading members of the Conservative Party at the critical stage of the controversy with Fisher, they would not have demanded Churchill’s head on a charger. In 1916 he paid the price in bitter frustration for the gay impertinences of a few years earlier. Politicians, particularly the duller ones, have long memories and the first of his periods in the wilderness was the result.

During this pre-war period, however, when his anxious gaze was bent on the preparations across the North Sea, he found time, as ever, to travel. One of the least well-known of his books, “My African Journey,” which was written in 1908, the year before I was born, deserves to be rescued from limbo, for the judgment on African affairs, the prediction of African developments are as uncannily far-sighted as so much of Sir Winston’s glimpses into the future has always been. Indeed, had this book been compulsory reading for the high officials of the Colonial Office in the intervening forty-five years, the troubles which now beset us in Africa might have been avoided, or mitigated. He travelled from Mombasa to Cairo, with the eye of an already experienced administrator. “It is no good trying to lay hold of Tropical Africa with naked fingers. Civilisation must be armed with machinery if she is to subdue these wild regions to her authority. Iron roads, not jogging porters; tireless engines, not weary men; cheap power, not cheap labour; steam and skill, not sweat and fumbling; there lies the only way to tame the jungle—more jungles than one.”

Not that the journey is all foreboding or all serious. There is much of Churchill the sportsman in it, with that curious and enduring sympathy for the adversary which he displays in other directions—for the defeated

Kaiser, for example, or for a political opponent. This is Mr. Churchill describing the lion:

“For his part the lion is no seeker of quarrels; he is often described in accents of contempt. His object throughout is to save his skin. If, being unarmed, you meet six or seven lions unexpectedly, all you need to do—according to my information—is to speak to them sternly and they will slink away, while you throw a few stones at them to hurry them up. All the highest authorities recommend this.

“But when pursued from place to place, chased hither and thither by the wheeling horsemen, the naturally mild disposition of the lion becomes embittered. First he begins to growl and roar at his enemies, in order to terrify them, and make them leave him in peace. Then he darts little short charges at them. Finally, when every attempt at peaceful persuasion has failed, he pulls up abruptly and offers battle. Once he has done this, he will run no more. He means to fight, and to fight to the death. He means to charge home; and when a lion, maddened with the agony of a bullet-wound, distressed by long and hard pursuit, or, most of all, a lioness in defence of her cubs, is definitely committed to the charge, death is the only possible conclusion. . . . It must be death—instant and utter—for the lion, or down goes the man, mauled by septic claws and fetid teeth, crushed and crunched, and poisoned afterwards to make doubly sure. Such are the habits of this cowardly and wicked animal.”

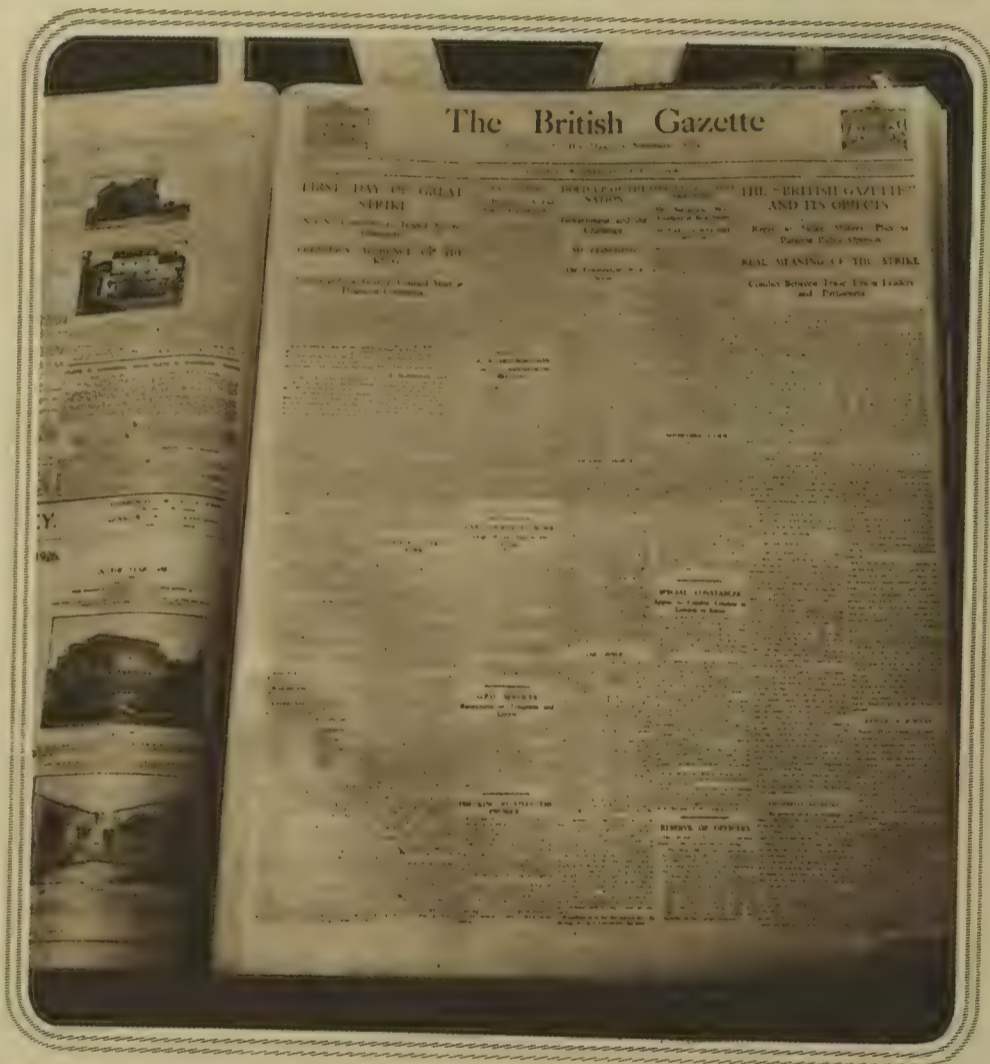
Here we have the fully-formed Churchill, in such phrases as “all the highest authorities recommend this,” and “such are the habits of this cowardly and wicked animal.” However, there were more serious matters to engage his attention when he came home—to extinguish memories of safari and overshadow disgruntled Tory peers and angry Irishmen. Our debt to Sir Winston Churchill in World War II. is so great that we are, I think, inclined to overlook the enormous service that he did in preparing the Navy for its great and vital rôle in World War I. Indeed, given the intensely pacifist outlook of the Liberal Government, it was nothing short of a miracle, and Sir Winston could say, with the Duke of Wellington after Waterloo: “I don’t think it could have been done if I had not been there.” But it was done, and done well, so that in the hour of ultimate crisis Mrs. Asquith was able to see him at 10, Downing Street, crossing the hall “with a happy face” to tell the

Cabinet that the war telegram had gone out to all ships.

Of the years which followed, Sir Winston Churchill has himself said nearly all that there is to be said. Indeed, there are few better sources wherein to study the mind and the heart of the man and the statesman than “The World Crisis.” This work might well be called “monumental,” consisting as it does of two stout volumes comprising between them nearly 1500 pages, and plentifully buttressed with copies of official minutes and memoranda, but the author has contrived—as I think few but he could contrive—to build his monument so as to be solid without being ponderous, for no one knows better than he how at the same time to instruct the mind and to fire the spirit, how to be exact in detail without losing the sense of awe and drama evoked by the surge of mighty historical events. “The World Crisis” covers the period 1911-1918, during the earlier half of which Churchill was at the Admiralty as First Lord. After retiring from the Admiralty, he remained a Cabinet member of Asquith’s first Coalition Government, but resigned, insisting upon a spell of duty as a regimental officer in France. He returned to Lloyd George’s Coalition as Minister of Munitions, and retained this office until the end of the war.

The book was originally written in 1923, and a revised edition was published in 1938. It contains, in what many people may consider an astonishingly highly-developed form, all the characteristics of the man whom a second great world cataclysm has set upon a pedestal of

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THE NEWSPAPER WHICH SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL EDITED DURING THE GENERAL STRIKE IN MAY 1926:
THE BRITISH GAZETTE.

When the General Strike began on May 1st, 1926, Sir Winston, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, threw himself with great vigour into the national cause by organising the *British Gazette* as a daily newspaper to replace those which could not appear in their usual form because the printers had gone on strike. He occupied the editorial chair of the *British Gazette* which, during its short life, published 1,127,600 copies. Speaking in the House of Commons at that time, Sir Winston said: “In the twinkling of an eye the newspaper Press went completely out of action, and there was no other means, apart from the telephone and telegraph, but the establishment of the *British Gazette* for conveying information of what had taken place or giving guidance to the people and the authorities.”



Mr. (now Sir) Winston Churchill and Miss Clementine Ogilvy Hozier, daughter of Sir Henry Montague Hozier, were married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, at two o'clock, on Saturday, September 12, 1908, and, in spite of the fact that society was so scattered at the time (it being after the end of the London season), the occasion was regarded as the wedding of the year. The five bridesmaids were all closely related to either the bride or the bridegroom. The principal bridesmaid was the bride's sister, Miss Nellie Hozier.

"It may be noted," said the *Sketch* of September 9, 1908, "that all five are contemporaries of the lovely bride, and each is in her way singularly handsome. Miss Hozier's taste inclines rather to the splendid and stately than to the gay and frivolous; accordingly, her attendant maids will wear quaint gowns of cream-coloured satin, and their black hats will be wreathed in pink and white flowers." The above is a reproduction of the page published in *The Illustrated London News* of September 12, 1908.

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admiration and honour such as has, I suppose, been accorded to no other national or international leader during his own lifetime. We find in these pages that vast sweep of ability, that uncanny foresight, that unwearied imperturbability, that swift rise to any and every challenge from men or events, that judgment (kindly but caustic) of colleagues and opponents, that refusal (curiously, it may seem, un-English) to stifle emotion or sentiment in circumstances where sentiment and emotion are called for, that gusty sense of humour to which neither the bludgeon nor the rapier comes amiss, that mastery of the English language both as an instrument and as an art.

To begin with what is perhaps the most easily traceable of all these great gifts, I find, on re-reading "The World Crisis," that while the Churchillian diction has retained and developed all its more individual qualities, certain elements have been discarded or modified. There is a good deal more conscious rhetoric in these pages which the Master penned thirty years ago. Of the Germans in the early years of the century, alarming Europe with the loud rattling of their sabres, he writes :

"Ah ! foolish-diligent Germans, working so hard, thinking so deeply, marching and counter-marching on the parade-grounds of the Fatherland, poring over long calculations, fuming in new-found prosperity, discontented amid the splendour of mundane success, how many bulwarks to your peace and glory did you not, with your own hands, successively tear down !"

I may be wrong, but I seem to detect in this rhetorical apostrophe, in the cadence of these clauses, an influence which has since become less prominent. Can it be that Winston Churchill, so deeply versed in the great orators and prose-writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has been reading Thomas Carlyle ?

Turn now to those grand last pages, on the end of the war :

"When the great organisations of the world are strained beyond breaking-point, their structure often collapses at all points simultaneously. There is nothing on which policy, however wise, can build ; no foothold can be found for virtue or valour, no authority or impetus for a rescuing genius. The mighty framework of German Imperial Power, which a few days before had overshadowed the nations, shivered suddenly into a thousand individually disintegrating fragments. All her Allies, whom she had so long sustained, fell down broken and ruined, begging separately for peace. The faithful armies were beaten at the front and demoralized from the rear. The proud, efficient Navy mutinied. Revolution exploded in the most disciplined and docile of States. The Supreme War Lord fled.

"Such a spectacle appals mankind ; and a knell rang in the ear of the victors, even in their hour of triumph."

Then he passes on to describe "the eruption of the German volcano" :

"For four years Germany fought and defied the five continents of the world by land and sea and air. The German Armies upheld her tottering confederates, intervened in every theatre with success, stood everywhere on conquered territory, and inflicted on their enemies more than twice the bloodshed they suffered themselves. To break their strength and science and curb their fury, it was necessary to bring all the greatest nations of mankind into the field against them. Overwhelming populations, unlimited resources, measureless sacrifice, the Sea Blockade, could not prevail for fifty months. Small States were trampled down in the struggle ; a mighty Empire was battered into unrecognisable fragments ; and nearly twenty million men perished or shed their blood before the sword was wrested from the terrible hand. Surely, Germans, for history it is enough !"

A prophecy and an appeal. No one knows better than the author of these words that for history it was not enough, and that the second furious struggle has brought mankind itself to the very verge of annihilation. I miss, in these volumes, some of that great moral indignation, that scorn with which the "Nar-zis" used periodically to be lashed during the late war. This is perhaps because Churchill is writing after the event. He is recording facts for history, not rousing a nation to defend herself and the civilised world. He writes, indeed, of the unrestricted submarine warfare of 1917 as "odious," "a grisly act," "depth beyond depth of enormity" : "And indeed the spectacle of helpless merchant seamen, their barque shattered and foundering, left with hard intention by fellow-mariners to perish in the cruel sea, was hideous." But he goes on to explain, if not to excuse, the German policy and the attitude of mind on which it was based :

"The Germans were newcomers on salt water. They cared little for all these ancient traditions of seafaring folk. Death for them was the same in whatever form it came to men. It ended in a more or less painful manner their mortal span. Why was it more horrible to be choked with salt water than with poison gas, or to starve in an open boat than to rot wounded but alive in No Man's Land ? The British blockade treated the whole of Germany as if it were a beleaguered fortress, and avowedly sought to starve the whole population—men, women and children, old and young, wounded and sound—into submission . . ."

Envious critics and political opponents have accused Winston Churchill of delighting in war. This is an abominable slander. The warmth of his heart and the breadth of his imagination have always caused him to see the full horror of modern conflict with a painful clarity denied to meaner minds. But it is true, I think, to say that the spirit of mediæval romantic chivalry has always been very much alive in him, and that it is in this

spirit that he will go forth to meet the foe. Even if that foe is, as Chesterton described him, "radically unknightly and radically unbrotherly," that is no reason why the English paladin should fail in courtesy and honour. That, I believe, is why we find the German leaders so gently treated in "The World Crisis." He criticises, but criticises precisely because these leaders were not what they pretended to be, and what they were hated and feared as being. At the end of the war, the German General Staff had usurped the main control over policy, and it was "not capable of measuring justly many of the important forces which were at work internally and abroad." "The Emperor, inwardly appalled by the tide of events, suspected of being a pacifist at heart, failed increasingly to play his part." "There was altogether lacking that supreme combination of the King - Warrior - Statesman which is apparent in the persons

of the great conquerors of history."

So it comes that Churchill can describe Tirpitz as a "rasping and energetic personality" ; can praise the "massive qualities" of Hindenburg ; can defend the reputation of the Crown Prince ("Little Willie") against the charges of being "a fop and a tyrant . . . a callow youth and a Moloch . . . an irresponsible passenger and a commander guilty of gross and disastrous military errors." If a man has the qualities of a man, Churchill can respect him for them, yet he is no less quick to appreciate—in his own vein and manner—the foolish and the absurd. Thus he writes of the abdication of King Ferdinand of Bulgaria : "This extraordinary figure, who combined the extremes of craft, fierceness, resolution and miscalculation, now vanished from view."

But how much more lively are the vignettes which we find of Mr. Churchill's colleagues during these years ! One of the most remarkable of these was Lord Fisher, the veteran Admiral whom he recalled



SIR WINSTON'S BRIDE ARRIVING FOR HER WEDDING : MISS CLEMENTINE HOZIER WITH HER BROTHER, SUB-LIEUTENANT HOZIER, R.N., WHO GAVE THE BRIDE AWAY.

Miss Clementine Hozier, who became Mrs. Winston Churchill on September 12, 1908, is a daughter of Sir Henry Hozier who, after retiring from the Army, became Secretary of Lloyds, and of Lady Blanche Hozier. The honeymoon was spent at Blenheim, lent by Sir Winston's cousin, the ninth Duke of Marlborough, and afterwards in France and Northern Italy.



ARRIVING AT ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER, FOR HIS WEDDING : MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, WITH THE BEST MAN, LORD HUGH CECIL (RIGHT).

At the time of his marriage to Miss Clementine Hozier in 1908, Sir Winston Churchill, at the age of thirty-three, was President of the Board of Trade in Mr. Asquith's Cabinet. His best man was Lord Hugh Cecil, later Lord Quickswood, who was closely associated with Sir Winston when they were Hughlighans together—the young and discontented members of the Conservative Party of the time.



LADY (THEN MRS.) CHURCHILL, WITH HER SECOND DAUGHTER, SARAH MILLICENT HERMIONE, WHO WAS BORN IN 1914, AT THE AGE OF SOME TWO YEARS: AN INFORMAL PORTRAIT BY THE LATE SIR JOHN LAVERY, R.A., INSCRIBED "TO SARAH AND HER MOTHER FROM JOHN LAVERY." (Reproduced by Courtesy of Lady Churchill.)



AS SHE WAS BEFORE HER MARRIAGE IN 1908 LADY CHURCHILL WHEN MISS CLEMENTINE HOZIER. SHE IS A DAUGHTER OF THE LATE SIR HENRY AND LADY BLANCHE HOZIER.



THE MOTORIST OF 1925: THE RT. HON. MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, DRIVES TO THE COMMONS IN TOP-HAT—AND OPEN TWO-SEATER.



HUNTING THE WILD BOAR: FROM A 1927 PHOTOGRAPH OF AN OCCASION WHEN MR. CHURCHILL FOLLOWED A WILD BOAR HUNT IN THE FOREST OF EU, NORTHERN FRANCE.



THE GOLFER OF 1913: AN UNUSUAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE THEN FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY ON THE GOLF-COURSE AT CANNES.



THE POLO-PLAYER: POLO WAS A FAVOURITE SPORT AND ONE IN WHICH HE EXCELLED. A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT ROEHAMPTON IN 1921.



THE SWIMMER—AND COLONIAL SECRETARY—OF 1922: SIR WINSTON WAS AN EASY AND FAST SWIMMER AND REPRESENTED HIS HOUSE AT HARROW.



THE HOME SECRETARY SHOOTING PHEASANTS IN YORKSHIRE: A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN AT WARTER PRIORY IN 1910.



WEARING AN ENGINE-DRIVER'S HAT—IN 1937: IN THE CAB OF THE L.M.S. LOCOMOTIVE HE HAD JUST NAMED "ROYAL NAVAL DIVISION."



THE GAME FISHERMAN OF 1929: MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, WITH A 188-LB. MARLIN HE CAUGHT OFF CATALINA ISLAND, CALIFORNIA.

As a boy at school Sir Winston Churchill had no liking for cricket or football, but represented his house at Harrow in swimming in a year when they defeated all opposition; and also won the Public Schools Fencing Competition. When disembarking with the 4th Hussars at Bombay, he injured his shoulder and rendered it liable to dislocation on many occasions. This weakness prevented his playing lawn tennis. In India he developed

a great enthusiasm for polo and greatly distinguished himself in it and, despite having his right arm strapped partly to his side, scored three goals in the famous match at Meerut in 1899, when the 4th Hussars won the Inter-Regimental Tournament. Polo he continued to play after reaching Cabinet rank; he has always been fond of riding, and to all exciting and adventurous activities he has brought an unfailing zest.

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to the post of First Sea Lord in 1941. Fisher was quite one of the most unusual characters of British history, which has never lacked eccentrics. Of him, Mr. Churchill writes :

"I found Fisher a veritable volcano of knowledge and of inspiration ; and as soon as he learnt what my main purpose was, he passed into a state of vehement eruption . . .

"[His letters] are also presented in an entertaining guise, interspersed with felicitous and sometimes recondite quotations, with flashing phrases and images, with mordant jokes and corrosive personalities. All were dashed off red-hot as they left his mind, his strong pen galloping along in the wake of the imperious thought. He would often audaciously fling out on paper thoughts which other people would hardly admit to their own minds. It is small wonder that his turbulent passage left so many foes foaming in his wake. The wonder is that he did not shipwreck himself a score of times. The buoyancy of his genius alone supported the burden. Indeed, in the process of years the profuse and imprudent violence of his letters became, in a sense, its own protection. People came to believe that this was the breezy style appropriate to our guardians of the deep, and the old Admiral swept forward on his stormy course.

"He was seventy-four years of age. As in a great castle which has long contended with time, the mighty central mass of the donjon towered up intact and seemingly everlasting. But the outworks and the battlements had fallen away, and its imperious ruler dwelt only in the special apartments and corridors with which he had a lifelong familiarity."

How Churchill—before the great quarrel—must have delighted in this puckish old giant ! But these descriptions are not only felicitous and typical of his style, they are also—if we recall the story of the Dardanelles, and the part which Fisher played in opposition to his chief's policy—reticent and generous.

Here, again, is Kitchener, "that overburdened Titan whose disapprobation had been one of the disconcerting experiences of my youth," when he received the news of the fall of the great fortress of Namur in the first week of the war :

"At 7 o'clock the next morning I was sitting up in bed at Admiralty House working at my boxes, when the door of my bedroom opened and Lord Kitchener appeared. These were the days before he took to uniform, and my recollection is that he had a bowler hat on his head, which he took off with a hand which also held a slip of paper. He paused in the doorway and I knew in a flash and before ever he spoke that the event had gone wrong. Though his manner was calm, his face was different. I had the subconscious feeling that it was distorted and discoloured as if it had been punched with a fist. His eyes rolled more than ever. His voice, too, was hoarse. He looked gigantic. . . . I forget much of what passed between us. But the apparition of Kitchener *Agonistes* in my doorway will dwell with me as long as I live. It was like seeing old John Bull on the rack !"

These short character studies are invaluable to the historian, as they are entertaining to the general reader. They also serve to reveal more of the heart and mind of their author than mere comment on events could do. Let us consider two more, dealing respectively with the highly controversial figures of Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Lloyd George.

"There can be no doubt that Lord Northcliffe was at all times animated by an ardent patriotism and an intense desire to win the war. But he wielded power without official responsibility, enjoyed secret knowledge without the general view, and disturbed the fortunes of national leaders without being willing to bear their burdens. Thus a swaying force, uncertain, capricious, essentially personal, potent alike for good or evil, claiming to make or mar public men, to sustain or displace Commanders, to shape policies, and to fashion or overthrow Governments, introduced itself in the absence of all Parliamentary correctives

into the conduct of the war. . . . In these circumstances a Dictator would have offered Lord Northcliffe the alternative of high and responsible office or honourable captivity until the conclusion of hostilities."

(It is safe, I think, to suggest that a dictator would have done nothing of the sort. A dictator would merely have bumped Lord Northcliffe off. Only a Churchill, puzzling how to reconcile liberty with security, and responsibility with independence, would have arrived at this characteristic solution of such a problem !)

It is the fashion nowadays to decry Lloyd George, largely on the strength of the Khaki Election, of the use which he made of the power thus achieved, and of the corruption of which it is so difficult to believe that he can have been ignorant. So important do I believe Mr. Churchill's assessment of this enigmatic figure to be, that I have thought it worth including in full :

"The new Prime Minister possessed two characteristics which were in harmony with this period of convulsion. First, a power of living in the present, without taking short views. Every day for him was filled with the hope and impulse of a fresh beginning. He surveyed the problems of each morning with an eye unobstructed by preconceived opinions, past utterances, or previous disappointments or defeats. In times of peace such a mood is not always admirable, nor often successful for long. But in the intense crisis when the world was a kaleidoscope, when every month all the values and relations were changed by some prodigious event and its measureless reactions, this inexhaustible mental agility, guided by the main purpose of Victory, was a rare advantage. His intuition fitted the crisis better than the logical reasoning of more rigid minds.

"The quality of living in the present and starting afresh each day led directly to a second and invaluable aptitude. Mr. Lloyd George in this period seemed to have a peculiar power of drawing from misfortune itself the means of future success. From the U-boat depredations he obtained the convoy system ; out of the disaster of Caporetto he extracted the Supreme War Council ; from the catastrophe of the 21st March he drew the United Command and the immense American reinforcement.

"His ascendancy in the high circles of British Government and in the councils of the Allies grew in the teeth of calamities. He did

not sit waiting upon events to give a wiseacre judgment. He grappled with the giant events and strove to compel them, undismayed by mistakes and their consequences. Tradition and convention troubled him little. He never sought to erect some military or naval figure into a fetish behind whose reputation he could take refuge. The military and naval hierarchies were roughly handled and forced to adjust themselves to the imperious need. Men of vigour and capacity from outside the Parliamentary sphere became the ministerial heads of great departments. He neglected nothing that he perceived. All parts of the task of Government claimed his attention and interest. He lived solely for his work and was never oppressed by it. He gave every decision when it was required. He scarcely ever seemed to bend under the burden. To his native adroitness in managing men and committees he now added a high sense of proportion in war policy and a power of delving to the root of unfamiliar things. Under his Administration both the Island and the Empire were effectually organised for war. He formed the Imperial War Cabinet of the British Monarchy. The convoy system, which broke the U-boat attack at sea ; the forward impulsion in Palestine, which overwhelmed the Turks, and the unified command which inaugurated the victories in France belonged in their main stress and resolve as acts of policy to no one so much as to the first Minister of the Crown."

The thoughtful appraisal does not contradict the popular picture. On the contrary, it is easy to see—and in one sentence Mr. Churchill hints so much—how the qualities needed at that particular juncture in the war could become fatal to their possessor in time of peace. We may perhaps legitimately speculate how many voters who went to the polls in 1945

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FEEDING HIS LION ROTA AT THE LONDON ZOO : SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL GIVING THE LION A PIECE OF MEAT FROM A HOOK ON THE END OF A POLE.

Sir Winston Churchill has paid several visits to the London Zoo to see his lion Rota. Rota, as a cub, was won in a raffle by a Mr. George Thomson of Pinner, who took it to his home, and when it began to grow up kept it in a cage in his garden. On May 29, 1940, Mr. Thomson deposited Rota in the London Zoo and subsequently presented the lion to the Zoological Society. In February 1943, Rota was presented to Sir Winston Churchill, who said that he was very pleased to accept the lion providing he had not got to keep it at Downing Street or Chequers. Rota is the father of most of the lion cubs born at the Zoo in recent years.



WITH HIS MOST FAMOUS RACEHORSE, *COLONIST II.*, AFTER ITS VICTORY IN THE VICTOR WILD STAKES AT KEMPTON PARK IN MAY 1950: SIR (THEN MR.) WINSTON CHURCHILL. *COLONIST II.* DURING ITS RACING CAREER, WHICH ENDED IN 1951, WON THIRTEEN RACES, WITH PRIZE MONEY OF £13,000.



WITH HIS *CANYON KID* AFTER ITS VICTORY IN THE SPEEDY STAKES (T. GOSLING UP) AT WINDSOR IN 1950: SIR (THEN MR.) WINSTON CHURCHILL. IN 1950 *COLONIST II.* AND *CANYON KID* WON £7447 IN STAKES, FOR £241 8s. OF WHICH *CANYON KID* WAS RESPONSIBLE.

Sir Winston Churchill, a keen horseman and polo player, has always loved horses, but did not take a personal interest in the Turf till fairly late in life. In 1949 the *Racing Calendar* announced that he had registered his racing colours and become the owner of a French-bred three-year-old, *Colonist II.*, with which on August 25 he won his first race, at Salisbury. *Colonist II.*, brilliantly trained by Walter Nightingall, was a good buy. During his racing career (which ended in 1951), he won thirteen events for

Sir Winston, with prize-money totalling £13,000. In 1950 Sir Winston won nine races, totalling £7447, with two horses, *Colonist II.* and *Canyon Kid*, the latter being responsible for £241 8s. On Boxing Day, 1952, when *Pol Roger* won for him, it was the first occasion on which a British Prime Minister had won under N.H. rules. Sir Winston's interest in racing dates from 1948, when he took a great fancy to a filly foaled at Chartwell by Captain Soames's (his son-in-law) mare by *Peter Pan*.

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determined to drive Mr. Churchill from power were stirred by some atavistic memory of the mistakes committed by their fathers and grand-fathers? If it were so, then the race-consciousness of the nation is much to blame, for although Churchill exhibited some of the qualities which he ascribes to Lloyd George, he partook of none of the weaknesses in which the latter afterwards so amply indulged.

Turning now from men to events, it was in November 1909, as President of the Board of Trade, that Winston Churchill first circulated to the Cabinet a minute in which he drew attention to Germany's precarious financial and economic situation. "These circumstances," he wrote, "force the conclusion that a period of severe internal strain approaches in Germany. Will the tension be relieved by moderation, or snapped by calculated violence? Will the policy of the German Government be to soothe the internal situation, or to find an escape from it in external adventure? . . . One of the two courses must be taken soon, and from that point of view it is of the greatest importance to gauge the spirit of the new administration from the outset. If it be pacific, it must soon become markedly pacific, and conversely." This was, in his own words, "the first sinister impression that I was ever led to record."

Two years later, when he was Home Secretary, Mr. Churchill laid before the Committee of Imperial Defence a memorandum in which he disagreed with the high hopes entertained by the British General Staff that, in the event of a German invasion of France through Belgium, the French would be able to seize the initiative by a daring advance through Alsace-Lorraine and thus prevent the march on Paris. In Mr. Churchill's view, the twentieth day of mobilisation would be the date whereby "the French armies will have been driven from the line of the Meuse and will be falling back on Paris and the South," while by the fortieth day "Germany should be extended at full strain both internally and on her war fronts," and "opportunities for the decisive trial of strength may then occur." This prediction was verified, almost to the day.

This is not the place to examine in detail the whole of Mr. Churchill's policy during his years at the Admiralty. But it must be noted that it was he who was responsible for two vital decisions—that of arming the new battle-ships with the hitherto unheard-of 15-in. gun, and that of changing over from coal to oil fuel. Both these decisions were of paramount importance in establishing and maintaining the supremacy of the British Navy; both were forced through against strong Treasury opposition and insufficient Cabinet support.

Nor, indeed, can I so much as open the great controversy about the Dardanelles action, in which Mr. Churchill played so leading a part, and which brought about so much friction and a final rupture with Lord Fisher. There was much to recommend the action. As Mr. Churchill wrote in a minute to the Prime Minister dated January 14, 1915: "The attack on the Dardanelles will require practically our whole available margin. If that attack opens prosperously it will very soon attract to itself the whole attention of the Eastern theatre, and if it succeeds it will produce results which will undoubtedly influence every other Mediterranean Power." We can perhaps find here some adumbration of that policy of attacking the "soft underbelly" with which Mr. Churchill was so much pre-occupied during the Second World War. The Board of Admiralty were enthusiastic about the Dardanelles project, but Lord Fisher soon began to change his view. He was, as he himself confesses later, "the only rebel." What happened is now history. At a later stage the co-operation of the Army was obtained, and, in spite of the greatest individual heroism on land and on sea, the first "combined operation," in the modern sense, was an epic failure.

Mr. Churchill himself—and I feel that nearly all modern historians support him—blames the preoccupation of the Service Departments at home with the conservation of men and materials for other sectors. He maintains that once the action had been decided upon, it should have been backed with every available ship and man. Nothing could be more

revealing than the scene which he describes between Lord Kitchener and Lord Fisher when the latter had determined to bring the *Queen Elizabeth* home from the Dardanelles fleet:

"I had now to break the news to Lord Kitchener. I invited him to come to a conference at the Admiralty on the evening of May 13. We sat round the octagonal table; Lord Kitchener on my left, Lord Fisher on my right, together with various other officers of high rank. As soon as Lord Kitchener realised that the Admiralty were going to withdraw the *Queen Elizabeth*, he became extremely angry. His habitual composure in trying ordeals left him. He protested vehemently against what he considered the desertion of the Army at its most critical moment. On the other side Lord Fisher flew into an even greater fury. 'The *Queen Elizabeth* would come home; she would come home at once; she would come home that night, or he would walk out of the Admiralty then and there.' Could we but have exchanged the positions of these two potentates at this juncture, have let Kitchener hold the Admiralty to its task, and sent Fisher to the War Office to slam in the reinforcements, both would have been happy and all would have been well. Such solutions were beyond us."

The ironies of history are not often so happily expressed. There can be little doubt that in that pithy comment on two angry men, Mr. Churchill has summed up the final causes of the whole failure to seize opportunity and occasion as it served. This must have been particularly galling to him, with his capacity for weighing chances accurately, and with his love of the decisive stroke.

Yet, as ever, he refuses to dwell on the past, except with generosity for the colleagues who differed from him, or who hampered and thwarted his plans. As he wrote in another connection, after the fall of Antwerp, to Sir John French: "I care for nothing but the future in war. I clear my heart of all useless reflections and of all sterile controversies. It is vain to look backwards . . ." Commenting once more on Antwerp, he writes:

"Hazard and uncertainty pervade all operations of war. It is idle to pretend that Lord Kitchener or anyone else foresaw all the consequences that flowed from the decisions of October 4. The event was very different from both hopes and expectations. But rarely in the Great War were more important results achieved by forces so limited and for losses so small, as those which rewarded this almost forlorn enterprise; nor is there in modern times a

more remarkable example of the flexibility, the celerity, and the baffling nature of that amphibious power which Britain alone wields, but which she has so often neglected."

I quote this passage, not only for its connection with what goes before, but also for the parallel which every reader will at once draw between the fourth sentence and that epic phrase with which the fighter pilots of the Battle of Britain are now stamped for all time. There is a truly remarkable similarity between these expressions which emphasizes a continuity of thought, of feeling and of temperament between the First Lord and the Prime Minister, between the courageous leader of forlorn hopes in our fathers' day, and the unconquerable defender of civilisation in our own.

Reflections on the Dardanelles led Mr. Churchill to state the divergence of view about the Navy and its function which existed throughout the whole war in the Admiralty and the Fleet:

"The first considered in the main that the war was the business of the Army: the task of the Royal Navy was to carry the Army wherever they wanted to go, to keep open the sea communications, and to be ready in overwhelming strength to fight the enemy's main Fleet should it ever accord them an opportunity. The type of officer who adhered to these respectable views was naturally led to urge the unceasing and increasing construction of ships of all kinds for the Grand Fleet. . . . Above all, they objected to any ship being risked except in contact with an enemy ship. . . .

"The opposite view was that the Navy was a gigantic instrument of offensive war, capable of intervening with decisive effect in the general

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A PRESENT FROM LADY CHURCHILL TO HER HUSBAND ON HIS SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY: THE GARDEN LOGGIA AT CHARTWELL, SIR WINSTON'S COUNTRY HOME.

Around the walls of the garden loggia, which was given to Sir Winston Churchill by his wife on his seventy-fifth birthday in November 1949, is a frieze, painted by his nephew, Major John Churchill, depicting the Battle of Blenheim, the first Duke of Marlborough's greatest victory. The grounds of Chartwell were first opened to the public in aid of charity on May 17, 1950.



THE COUNTRY HOME OF SIR WINSTON AND LADY CHURCHILL: CHARTWELL, SHOWING THE LAWNS.

Chartwell was bought by admirers of Sir Winston Churchill and presented to the National Trust in 1946, it being understood that a collection of his possessions

would eventually be left there so that posterity might capture at least an echo of the many-sided genius and tastes of one of the greatest of British statesmen.



ONE OF THE FEATURES OF CHARTWELL AND OFTEN ENJOYED BY SIR WINSTON: THE OPEN-AIR SWIMMING-POOL.

This natural-looking pool is built in magnificent surroundings, studded with trees, which contain fine stretches of lawn and many varieties of azalea and rhododendron.

Chartwell has, from time to time, been opened to the public in order to raise funds for various charities, and our colour photographs were taken on one of these occasions.

The Beautiful Country Home of Sir Winston Churchill: Chartwell, Westerham, Kent.

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strategy, and that it must bear its share of the risks and sufferings of the struggle. . . . It was in this spirit that Beatty broke into the Heligoland Bight on August 28, 1914, pressed his pursuit of the *Hipper* on January 24, and led the battle-cruisers and the fast division at Jutland . . .

"Such is the true war spirit of the Navy, which only gradually liberated itself from the shortsighted prudent housewifery of the peacetime mind."

That is as much as Mr. Churchill permits himself by way of criticism—and he takes care to state specifically that he is far from impugning the personal courage of the Admirals of the old school, de Robeck in particular, the Dardanelles C.-in-C., whom he describes as "an officer of the highest physical courage—but saddened and smitten to the heart by the loss of three obsolete vessels with small loss of life in the numerous fleet which he commanded."

Looking back through these pages, and through the years which they chronicle, one gets all the time the impression of Winston Churchill as an opponent courteous and even tender. On August 13, 1914, he wrote to Count Mensdorf, the Austrian Ambassador, for whose safe conduct by sea it fell to the First Lord to make arrangements:

"Although the terrible march of events has swept aside the ancient friendship between our countries, the respect and regard which spring from so many years of personal association cannot pass from the hearts of your English friends." Yet, when he feels it necessary to administer a rebuke, his devastating command of language makes the lightest word formidable. Correcting Lord Esher's ill-tempered, positively insulting, account of the circumstances whereby he, as First Lord, went over to Antwerp to take part in the final defence of the port, he writes: "It is remarkable that Lord Esher should be so much astray; for during the war I showed him the text of the telegrams printed in this chapter and now made public for the first time. We must conclude that an uncontrollable fondness for fiction forbade him to forsake it for fact. Such constancy is a defect in an historian." This pleased me more, perhaps, than any other single quotation which I have managed to unearth from these early volumes. It contains all that we now associate with the great lion: the relish of those alliterative "f's"; the placing of "uncontrollable" and "constancy," in a juxtaposition which Tacitus would have envied; the murderous politeness! Even the lion's purr is as heart-shaking as his roar—if you happen to be at the other end of the lion!

Another, and most significant, figure emerges from the later chapters of "The World Crisis" more clearly, I think, than anywhere else, and that is Mr. Churchill as the champion of the amateur against the professional—or perhaps it would be better to say, of the man of broad, general views and responsibilities against the specialist:

"A series of absurd conventions became established, perhaps inevitably, in the public mind. The first and most monstrous of these was that the Generals and Admirals were more competent to deal with the broad issues of the war than abler men in other spheres of life. . . . The foolish doctrine was preached to the public through innumerable agencies that Generals and Admirals must be right on war matters, and civilians of all kinds must be wrong. These erroneous conceptions were inculcated billion-fold by the newspapers under the crudest forms. The feeble or presumptuous politician is portrayed cowering in his office, intent in the crash of the world on Party intrigues or personal glorification, fearful of responsibility, incapable of aught save shallow phrase-making. To him enters the calm, noble, resolute figure of the great Commander by land or sea, resplendent in uniform, glittering with decorations, irradiated with the lustre of the hero, shod with the science and armed with the panoply of war. This stately figure, devoid of the slightest thought of self, offers his clear, far-sighted guidance and counsel for vehement action or artifice or wise delay. But his advice is rejected; his sound plans are

put aside; his courageous initiative baffled by political chatter-boxes and incompetents. As well, it was suggested, might a great surgeon about to operate with sure science and the study of a lifetime upon a desperate case, have his arm jogged or his hand impeded, or even his lancet snatched from him, by some agitated relations of the patient. Such was the picture presented to the public, and such was the mood that ruled. It was not, however, entirely in accordance with the facts; and facts, especially in war, are stubborn things."

A few pages earlier, he writes of Sir Douglas Haig, in connection with the Battle of the Somme, that at that time the C.-in-C. was not well served by his advisers:

"The temptation to tell a Chief in a great position the things he most likes to hear is one of the commonest explanations of a mistaken policy. An Emperor, a Commander-in-Chief, even a Prime Minister in peace or war, is in the main surrounded by smiling and respectful faces. Most people who come in contact with him in times of strain feel honoured by contact with so much power or in sympathy with the bearer of such heavy burdens. They are often prompted to use smooth processes, to mention some favourable item, to leave unsaid some ugly misgiving or some awkward contradiction. Thus the outlook of the leader on whose decision fateful events depend is usually far more sanguine than the brutal facts admit.

"In political life there are many correctives: there is no walk so crowded with candid friends as Parliament. . . ."

Let it not be thought that Mr. Churchill is prejudiced against the Service leader or against the expert adviser as such. He is prepared, if occasion warrants, to rebuke with equal severity the pretensions of the politician or the Civil Servant. For it is pretension that he assails, and with it the pomposity, the pontifical air, the assumption of infallibility which is such a menace to public life in peace as in war. What Churchill requires is "facts . . . stubborn things," "brutal facts," and it is his uncompromising realism that provides the clue to his versatility as a strategist and as a tactician, as well as to his changes of policy and sometimes, it would seem, of political principle.

Notice, too, how well aware he was, thirty years ago, of the temptations which beset Prime Ministers and others in great positions, and of the danger that even their closest advisers will beguile them with smooth phrases. The age of the "yes-man" was not perhaps so highly developed in those days as it has subsequently become, and Sir Winston—who is no one's "yes-man" himself—shows himself here clearly aware of that insidious breed.

With these qualities, no one would expect him to be a hidebound, orthodox administrator. Yet he appreciates the services of a good administration, and writes with gusto of his Council at the Ministry of Munitions:

"The relief was instantaneous. I was no longer oppressed by heaps of bulky files. Every one of my ten Councillors was able to give important final decisions in his own sphere. The daily Council meeting kept them in close relation with each other and with the general scheme; while the system of Committees of Councillors enabled special questions to be brought to speedy conclusion. Once the whole organisation was in motion it never required change. Instead of struggling through the jungle on foot I rode comfortably on an elephant whose trunk could pick up a pin or uproot a tree with equal ease, and from whose back a wide scene lay open."

Is it too much to catch a hint of significance in this choice of an elephant as the metaphorical beast most aptly representing the Civil Service? Mr. Churchill praises his elephant, he is fully conscious of its ability, dexterity and usefulness—but it is none the less an elephant, such a creature as was later to bear his colleague, Lord Curzon, along to some majestic Durbar, rather than the engine of war imported into Italy by Hannibal!



GUARDING MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL'S BABY FROM BEING KIDNAPPED BY THE SUFFRAGETTES: A DETECTIVE FOLLOWING THE PRAM IN WHICH MISS DIANA CHURCHILL WAS BEING TAKEN OUT.

In 1910, the year in which this photograph was taken, Mr. Winston Churchill was the target of numerous attacks by the Suffragettes, who never missed an opportunity of subjecting him to every kind of annoyance. At this time it was reported that they were threatening to kidnap Mr. Churchill's baby daughter Diana, who was born in July 1909, and to hold her as a "hostage." As a precaution, when the child was taken out in her pram by her nurse, a detective followed close behind ready to deal with any incident which might occur. In this photograph the officer can be seen (right).

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There can never have been anybody less departmentalised than Sir Winston Churchill. In these pages we are constantly finding him taking a close and searching interest in matters which do not come within his own sphere of responsibility, putting up ideas, urging experiments, as they occur to him, without any other thought than that of their possible objective value. In 1914, for instance, he is writing sensible minutes about the Zeppelin menace. In March 1915 he turned his attention to tanks and smoke warfare, and actually authorised expenditure of £70,000 on tank experiments without informing the Board of Admiralty, the War Office, or the Treasury. This was, as he admits, a very serious decision and one which, if it had proved abortive, could hardly have been defended.

To probe more deeply into "The World Crisis" would carry me further than this short study really warrants. I have quoted enough, I hope, to show how already in World War I. the great leader was showing the qualities which will be for ever associated with the name of Winston Churchill in World War II. They are to be seen here, not in embryo, but in a highly-advanced form of development, including that matchless power to survey the widest scene from some point of vantage which itself towers above the look-out stations of lesser men. So I shall end this section with a final quotation which seems to me to exemplify this sweeping vision at its best: Mr. Churchill is writing of the possibility of containing the struggle which, to his mind, still existed in 1915:

"It was not to be. Mankind was not to escape so easily from the

catastrophe in which it had involved itself. Pride was everywhere to be humbled, and nowhere to receive its satisfaction. No splendid harmony was to crown the wonderful achievements. No prize was to reward the sacrifices of the combatants. Victory was to be bought so dear as to be almost indistinguishable from defeat. It was not to give even security to the victors. There never was to be 'The silence following great words of Peace.' To the convulsions of the struggle must succeed the impotent turmoil of the aftermath. Noble hopes, high comradeship and glorious daring were in every nation to lead only to disappointment, disillusion and prostration. The sufferings and impoverishment of peoples might arrest their warfare, the collapse of the defeated might still the cannonade, but their hatreds continue unappeased and their quarrels are still unsettled. The most complete victory ever gained in arms has failed to solve the European problem or remove the dangers which produced the war."

Sunt lacrimæ rerum! Are we in 1918 or 1945?

The day was won. The battle was over. The wind had changed. Winston Churchill had many services to perform: for instance, in adopting the sensible measures he did to end the muddle over demobilisation—a muddle which had led to an actual mutiny in the Brigade of Guards. Sensible arrangements, too, to be made in the Middle East while he was Colonial Secretary—arrangements in the course of which a somewhat surprised Whitehall found T. E. Lawrence working as a very modest, temporary Civil Servant, at the behest of Mr. Churchill.

He was right (as usual) about the nature and character of the new Government thrown up in Russia. He was, after a brief period as a Constitutionalist, now back in the Conservative fold, and surely one of the most unorthodox Chancellors of the Exchequer which any Government has had. The lively encounters, in office and out, between himself and Mr. Philip Snowden, the acidulated little Socialist leader, of whom he typically wrote that "the British democracy should be proud," was one of the political joys of the 'twenties. Here is Churchill the opponent, writing about him: "His long life of effort, self-denial and physical affliction was crowned by honourable success. His fearlessness, his rectitude, his austerity, his sobriety of judgment, his deep love of Britain, and

his studiously concealed, but intense, pride in British greatness, distinguish him as one of the true worthies of our age."

But then, after the interlude of the General Strike, when Churchill appeared for a few exciting days in yet another new rôle, as the editor of the *British Gazette*—a rôle in which he enjoyed himself hugely—the skies began to grow black above him. It is a British trait to be distrustful of genius, and Mr. Baldwin was very British indeed. So there began another and longer period of frustration, when he was once more in the wilderness—a period which saw him once more belabouring his former friends over India, once more uttering warning upon repeated warning of the dangers and terrors that were to come. Not that the wilderness was anything but exciting. Mr. Churchill was prodigiously active. There were not merely his books; there was a constant stream of articles for the Press. Like the "cowardly and wicked animal"—the lion which he so admired—he "crushed and crunched," turned on his critics and savaged them. The unfortunate Admiral Bacon was one of the victims of Churchill in his lesser benign mood. Admiral Bacon, who had three times been assisted in his naval career by Mr. Churchill, wrote a violently partisan life of "Jackie" Fisher, in which he criticised Mr. Churchill most severely. Listen to this: "We may leave him thus, lucky without knowing it, consumed by griefs which cannot interest the public, and in his sombre moods finding no hand to bite but the only one that fed him." Poor Admiral Bacon! That cuff from an enormous paw must have been as shattering to him as it must have been to the "immaculate bus conductor," who was so rash as to provoke Mr. Churchill during the late war.

If "The World Crisis" and his latest books on World War II. are monumental, his "Great Contemporaries," written about this time of frustration, is one of the most revealing of all his works. Here you have his generosity in full measure. He is understanding about the Kaiser. He is even at this stage by no means unkind to Hitler. For his contemporaries, such as the late Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Lloyd George, his affection flows over. His essays on Clemenceau and Foch show that deep appreciation of the two utterly different,

but equally essential, strains in the French character personified by these widely different men, which has marked all his dealings with the French Republic. He did not, it is clear, altogether approve of Mr. Balfour. He clearly sympathised with Lord Curzon in the quarrel he had had with Mr. Balfour over Kitchener. "As for Mr. Balfour, his calm was Olympian, his courtesy and kindness were unfailing, and his impressions ineffaceable." The menace of that word "ineffaceable" I appreciated later, when he describes how Mr. Balfour, summoned by the King to advise on the successor to Mr. Bonar Law, travelled up from Sheringham, and suggested to his Majesty that in future Prime Ministers must be members of the Lower House. "He confined himself strictly to this point. He was careful to use no other argument. It was enough. When late that night Balfour returned to his sick-bed at Sheringham after his fatiguing journey, he was asked by some of his most cherished friends who were staying with him: 'And will dear George be chosen?' 'No,' he replied placidly, 'dear George will not.'"

It was, however, a bad time. Official Conservatism, all the weight of the Conservative machine, was used to baffle the prophet, and to suppress his utterances. In some ways this was most effective. Indeed, the young man of twenty who impertinently remarked to him only a month before the outbreak of World War II, "I do not know who you are, Sir, but I have never heard such nonsense talked in all my life," could be forgiven, not for his manners, but for his lack of knowledge. For the last previous occasion when Sir Winston had been freely and favourably in the news was when the boy was nine or ten.

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LADY CHURCHILL NAMES A NEW CUNARDER: CUTTING THE CORD WHICH RELEASED A BOTTLE OF CHAMPAGNE TO SHATTER ON THE BOWS OF THE 22,000-TON SAXONIA AT CLYDEBANK ON FEBRUARY 17, 1954.

When she named the new Cunarder, the 22,000-ton *Saxonia*, at the Clydebank shipyard of John Brown and Co., on February 17, 1954, Lady Churchill said that she had asked her husband for a message, and that Sir Winston "spoke very quickly and I had to grab a piece of paper to scribble it down. Then I pinched his arm and said: 'Now pay attention while I read it back.' He did, and here is the message: 'Canada, as well as being a glorious member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, is also the link across the Atlantic Ocean of the English-speaking world. Here we are creating physical arrangements which help to turn into actual important facts those aims for an even closer unity to which we all aspire.'" The *Saxonia* is the first of three Cunard liners designed for service from the U.K. up the St. Lawrence to Montreal.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL IN OTTAWA: THE PRIME MINISTER DELIVERING HIS ADDRESS FROM THE FLOOR OF THE CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS, DECEMBER 30, 1941.



THE STANDING OVATION ACCORDED TO SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AT THE CONCLUSION OF HIS ADDRESS IN THE CHAMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 17, 1952.

On December 30, 1941, after he had conferred with President Roosevelt in Washington on the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, the Prime Minister addressed a joint session of the Canadian Senate and House of Commons in Ottawa. It was during this historic speech that he said, in referring to the collapse of French resistance in 1940: "When I warned them [the French] that Britain would fight on alone whatever they did, their generals told their Prime Minister: '... In three weeks England will have her neck

wrung like a chicken.' Some chicken! Some neck!" Sir Winston returned to Washington after the war and on January 17, 1952, addressed a joint session of Congress in the Chamber of the House of Representatives. He spoke for thirty-seven minutes and was interrupted by applause fifteen times. In his speech he said: "I have not come to ask you for money to make life more comfortable for us in Britain . . . I have not come to ask for gold but for steel."

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There is a saying, however, that God looks after fools, drunks and Englishmen. In a way, the forces of official Conservatism which drove Sir Winston out of office, kept him at arm's length, and attempted to muffle his protests, may have been the instruments of that Providence of whom he has such a lively and daily sense. For the result of appeasement, the result of all this cold-shouldering, was that the Titan came fresh and unwearied to the task for which he felt he had been called.

It is typical of Winston Churchill that in his preface to the first volume of his "Second World War" he should himself enter a caveat against accepting what he has written as the last word on so vast and complicated a subject. "I do not describe it," he writes, "as history, for that belongs to another generation. . . . It must not be supposed that I expect everybody to agree with what I say, still less that I write only what will be popular. I give my testimony according to the lights I follow. Every possible care has been taken to verify the facts; but much is constantly coming to light from the disclosure of captured documents or other revelations which may present a new aspect to the conclusions which I have drawn. This is why it is important to rely upon authentic contemporary records and the expressions of opinion set down when all was obscure."

These volumes, then, will be the mine for future historians to quarry. It has already been pointed out—and it cannot be denied—that in passing this vast mass of material through the sieve of his memory, the author has here and there selected and discarded his facts in such a way as to give a tendentious impression. If he had not done so, he would have been more than human. You cannot both make history and write it. "These documents," he conceded, ". . . will no doubt show many shortcomings." Granted. But let us be grateful that the documents are there. What would we not give for six volumes by Pitt on the Napoleonic Wars?

Nearly all his official work as Prime Minister, he tells us, was transacted by dictation to secretaries. (Indeed, that has been the method whereby he was able to produce "The Second World War" in such an incredibly short period. There is a story that, in answer to an enquiry by a gushing lady about his manner of writing, he replied: "Madam, I live from mouth to hand!"). All these documents—memoranda, directives, personal telegrams and minutes—amount to nearly a million words. A million words—lucid, cultured, controlled, calm and courteous even in administering rebukes, soaring to the challenge of great emergencies, stooping to the smallest points of detail—what a collection they make! The appendices in these volumes reveal much of the charm of the unexpected:

Prime Minister to Minister of Labour:

"I was delighted with your hat, and something on these lines should certainly be mass-produced as soon as possible for issue pending steel hats. I think it a mistake to call it a 'rag hat,' as I see is done in some of the papers to-day. I hope you will think of a better name."

Prime Minister to Minister of Agriculture:

"I am far from satisfied at the proposal to reduce pigs to one-third of their present number by the middle of the autumn. . . ."

First Lord to First Sea Lord:

"I am told that the mine-sweeper men have no badge. If this is so, it must be remedied at once. . . ."

I myself have come more and more to admire Winston Churchill in what I may perhaps call his patriarchal mood. Every now and then—not very often, for such occasions must, I presume, depend upon some divine afflatus—he launches out into the kind of language used by the great patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, so that the reader

is almost cowed by the awful inevitability of the tragic forces and events which he denounces, as well as by the rolling tide of language in which the denunciation is couched. So, for instance, when he tells us how he envisages his task, in the first chapter of "The Gathering Storm":

"It is my purpose, as one who lived and acted in these days, to show how easily the tragedy of the Second World War could have been prevented; how the malice of the wicked was reinforced by the weakness of the virtuous; how the structure and habits of democratic States, unless they are welded into larger organisms, lack those elements of persistence and conviction which can alone give security to humble masses; how, even in matters of self-preservation, no policy is pursued for even ten or fifteen years at a time. We shall see how the counsels of prudence and restraint may become the prime agents of mortal danger; how the middle course adopted from desires for safety and a quiet life may be found to lead direct to the bull's-eye of disaster. We shall see how absolute is

the need of a broad path of international action pursued by many States in common across the years, irrespective of the ebb and flow of national politics."

The mantle of Elijah sits well upon those ample shoulders. But other traditions, besides those of the Old Testament, have contributed to achieve this massive result. There is that deep sense of "tragedy," in the true sense of the word, which was so forcibly attained by the older Greek dramatists, such as Æschylus; there is the expression of a similar attitude to life, later by two thousand years, such as we find in Shakespeare; there is the dawning vision of a brighter future which only those can share who understand that man himself is greater than the cataclysms which seem to overwhelm him—and that is the Christian tradition of a St. Augustine, who lived and wrote in a period which closely resembles our own in so much of its external detail.

Who and what is the man who can write like this? I have been trying to show, throughout this essay, how fully he has revealed himself, and how many are the threads which have gone to weave the tapestry of his personality and of his achievement. I have quoted many passages from his works—and how often have I not had to resist the temptation to recommend one or another of these passages as the key, *par excellence*, to the Churchillian mind and heart! Yet it seems to me that there could be few pieces of autobiography more deeply significant than the paragraphs in which Winston Churchill shows himself to us on the evening when he became Prime Minister:

"Thus then, on the night of the tenth of May, at the outset of this mighty battle, I acquired the chief power in the State, which henceforth I wielded in ever-growing measure for five years and three months of world war, at the end

of which time, all our enemies having surrendered unconditionally or being about to do so, I was immediately dismissed by the British electorate from all further conduct of their affairs.

"During these last crowded days of the political crisis my pulse had not quickened at any moment. I took it all as it came. But I cannot conceal from the reader of this truthful account that as I went to bed at about 3 a.m., I was conscious of a profound sense of relief. At last I had authority to give directions over the whole scene. I felt as if I were walking with destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial. Eleven years in the political wilderness had freed me from ordinary Party antagonisms. My warnings over the last six years had been so numerous, so detailed, and were now so terribly vindicated, that no one could gainsay me. I could not be reproached either for making the war or with want of preparation for it. I thought I knew a good deal about it all, and I was sure I should not fail. Therefore, although impatient for the morning, I slept soundly and had no need for cheering dreams. Facts are better than dreams."

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"MR. CHURCHILL DISPLAYS SAMPLES OF REAL AND ARTIFICIAL SILK": FROM A SERIES OF SKETCH-PORTRAITS BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST IN PARLIAMENT (MR. STEVEN SPURRIER, NOW R.A.), REPRODUCED FROM "THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS" OF MAY 23, 1925.

The incident shown took place during a debate on the Budget silk duties, when Mr. Churchill, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared that he could not distinguish between real and artificial silk, and that a "jury" of ladies which he had empanelled were more often wrong than right in their decisions.



MR. CHURCHILL IN THE OXFORD UNION IN 1930, WITH (EXTREME RIGHT) HIS SON, MR. RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, AND (CENTRE) THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNION, MR. E. M. LUSTGARTEN.

The occasion of this photograph was the Presidential Debate at the Oxford Union Society in March 1930; and as the motion before the House was "That this House prefers the last Government (i.e., Mr. Baldwin's second Government) to the present one (Mr. MacDonald's second Labour Government)," it is not difficult to imagine on which side of the House Mr. Churchill spoke.



AT CHARTWELL: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S STUDY, WHICH CONTAINS SOME FINE PAINTINGS; AND THE UNION FLAG WHICH WAS HOISTED WHEN THE ALLIED TROOPS FIRST LANDED IN ITALY IN 1943.



IN SIR WINSTON'S CHARTWELL STUDY: A DIORAMA OF THE ARROMANCHES HARBOUR, ONE OF THE "MULBERRY" HARBOURS FIRST SUGGESTED BY THE PRIME MINISTER, WHICH PLAYED AN INVALUABLE RÔLE IN THE NORMANDY LANDINGS AFTER D-DAY.



In 1906, at the age of thirty-one, Mr. Winston Churchill became a Minister of the Crown for the first time, when he was appointed Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, under the Premiership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. In the following year, 1907, he went on a trip to the East African Colonies, from which he returned in 1908, the year in which he published the story of his tour

in a book called "My African Journey." Our photograph, taken by Captain F. A. Dickinson, who commanded Mr. Churchill's escort, shows how the Colonial Under-Secretary appeared on his tour, which he described later as "a very delightful and inspiring journey." To judge from the lightness of his attire he found the ordinary colonial equipment of the time far too heavy for the East African climate.

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Is there anyone else, in the world's history, who has ever confessed to "a profound sense of relief" on being invested with staggering responsibilities, in the midst of dire perils, with the future of the civilised world at stake? But this is no empty vaunting. No one can read these sentences without realising that they express the plain and simple truth. Faced with a task sufficient to appal the bravest and the most gifted warrior-statesman who ever existed, Winston Churchill falls, like a tired child, into a dreamless sleep, because, as he tells us, "facts are better than dreams."

Sleep itself is a state rich in meaning and symbolism, and it is curious, though not unexpected, to find that Winston Churchill shares with some of the other great world leaders, such as Napoleon, a capacity to control and command that most imperious and most humiliating of conditions. He tells us that by going to bed for at least one hour as early as possible in the afternoon, and exploiting to the full his "happy gift of falling almost immediately into deep sleep," he managed to press a day-and-a-half's work into one. But such gifts are not at everyone's command, and so Churchill writes, with the tenderest possible malice, of one who tried to imitate him:

"The First Sea Lord, Admiral Pound, as soon as he had realised my technique, adopted it himself, except that he did not actually go to bed but dozed off in his armchair. He even carried the policy so far as often to go to sleep during Cabinet meetings. One word about the Navy was however sufficient to awaken him to the fullest activity. Nothing slipped past his vigilant ear, or his comprehending mind."

A modern psychologist would say—and I think that in this instance he would be right—that sleep or the absence of sleep, which affects us all to a certain degree, has an unusually profound significance for Winston Churchill. On one occasion, and on one occasion only, sleep deserted him.

"Late in the night on February 20th (1938) a telephone message reached me as I sat in my old room at Chartwell (as I often sit now) that Eden had resigned. I must confess that my heart sank, and for a while the dark waters of despair overwhelmed me. In a long life I have had many ups and downs. During all the war soon to come and in its darkest times I never had any trouble in sleeping. In the crisis of 1940, when so much responsibility lay upon me, and also at many very anxious, awkward moments in the following five years, I would always flop into bed and go to sleep after the day's work was done—subject, of course, to any emergency call. I slept sound and awoke refreshed, and had no feelings except appetite to grapple with whatever the morning's boxes might bring. But now on this night of February 20th, 1938, and on this occasion only, sleep deserted me.

From midnight until dawn I lay in my bed consumed by emotions of sorrow and fear. There seemed one strong young figure standing up against long, dismal, drawling tides of drift and surrender, of wrong measurements and feeble impulses. My conduct of affairs would have been different from his in various ways; but he seemed to me at this moment to embody the life-hope of the British nation, the grand old British race that had done so much for men, and had yet some more to give. Now he was gone. I watched the daylight slowly creep in through the windows, and saw before me in mental gaze the vision of Death."

What a bitter night that must have been, of fear and frustration! Eleven years in the political wilderness is enough to kill any ordinary man's fervour, if not the integrity of his judgment. Churchill had parted from Baldwin on the question of India, and he had constantly spent those years of loneliness and unpopularity, of rejection and distrust, in warning successive Governments and the House of Commons of what was to come. It had been as long ago as May 1932 that he had first given his formal warning of approaching war, when the House was debating the Foreign Secretary's new thesis of "qualitative disarmament." He then urged that if Germany were to be placed in an equal military position with France, we would be brought "within practical distance of almost measureless calamity." Throughout the following years he drew attention to the progressive weakening of Britain's resources by air, land and sea, as well

as to the German military resurgence. Again and again he attacked the folly of our foreign policy, as on March 14, 1934:

"The awful danger of our present foreign policy is that we go on perpetually asking the French to weaken themselves. And what do we say is the inducement? We say 'Weaken yourselves,' and we always hold out the hope that if they do it and get into trouble, we will then in some way or other go to their aid, although we have nothing with which to go to their aid. I cannot imagine a more dangerous policy. There is something to be said for isolation; there is something to be said for alliances. But there is nothing to be said for weakening the Power on the Continent with whom you would be in alliance, and then involving yourself more deeply in Continental tangles in order to make it up to them. In that way you have neither the one thing nor the other; you have the worst of both worlds.

"The Romans had a maxim, 'Shorten your weapons and lengthen your frontiers.' But our maxim seems to be, 'Diminish your weapons and increase your obligations.' Aye, and diminish the weapons of your friends."

In years to come, when our grandchildren are reading—if any of them remain alive, and if any of them can read—the history of this terrible age,

I can imagine no better *memoria technica* to British policy between the wars than some of these Churchillian epigrams. The whole is summed up in one of those passages which I have already christened patriarchal:

"We must regard as deeply blameworthy before history the conduct not only of the British National and mainly Conservative Governments, but of the Labour-Socialist and Liberal Parties, both in and out of office, during this fatal period. Delight in smooth-sounding platitudes, refusal to face unpleasant facts, desire for popularity and electoral success irrespective of the vital interests of the State, genuine love of peace and pathetic belief that love can be its sole foundation, obvious lack of intellectual vigour in both leaders of the British Coalition Government, marked ignorance of Europe and aversion from its problems in Mr. Baldwin, the strong and violent pacificism which at this time dominated the Labour-Socialist Party, the utter devotion of the Liberals to sentiment apart from reality, the failure and worse than failure of Mr. Lloyd George, the erstwhile great wartime leader, to address himself to the continuity of his work, the whole supported by overwhelming majorities in both Houses of Parliament; all these constituted a picture of British fatuity and fecklessness which, though devoid of guile, was not devoid of guilt, and, though free from wickedness or evil design, played a definite part in the unleashing upon the world of horrors and miseries which, even so far as they have unfolded, are already

beyond comparison in human experience."

Here is a damning indictment indeed, but it is just and even generous in its assessment. Generosity is, as I have pointed out before, one of the leading characteristics of Winston Churchill, in every one of what one might call his "incarnations"—and how loyal he can be, even when the claim on his loyalty is slender indeed! In those May days, after the failure of the Norway campaign of 1940, when an angry House of Commons turned upon Mr. Chamberlain's Government, when Lloyd George solemnly called upon the Prime Minister to give an example of sacrifice "because there is nothing which can contribute more to victory in this war than that he should sacrifice the seals of office," when Leo Amery was crying out, in Cromwell's words to the Long Parliament, "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you! In the name of God, go!", it was Churchill who defied the anger of the Commons in defence of his chief, with never a thought of how his intervention might affect the subsequent issue so far as it concerned his own prospects. And a few weeks later, when he was Prime Minister and the Commons were howling once more for a purge from the Government of all the "guilty men" of Munich, it was Churchill who silenced them, with such a stroke as only he could deliver: "If the present tries to sit in judgment on the past it will lose the future." These, let us remember, were the men who had despised and rejected

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THE WRECKAGE OF THE TREASURY BUILDING AFTER A BOMB HAD HIT IT IN OCTOBER 1940. THE PRIME MINISTER WAS DINING NEXT DOOR IN NO. 10, DOWNING STREET AT THE TIME.

During an air raid on the evening of October 14, 1940, the Prime Minister was giving dinner to Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Colonel Moore-Brabazon. The noise of loud explosions near by prompted him to order his cook and other servants to leave the kitchen of No. 10 and seek protection in an air-raid shelter. A few minutes later a bomb fell on the Treasury some 50 yards away and reduced the kitchen to a rubble.



THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, WHO WAS LEARNING TO FLY: THE RT. HON. MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL BESIDE HIS AIRCRAFT, ON ARRIVAL AT PORTSMOUTH FROM UPAYON, DURING JUNE 1914. HIS FIRST INSTRUCTOR WAS THE LATE COMMANDER SPENSER GREY.



MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL FLYING OVER PORTSMOUTH HARBOUR IN A SERVICES SEAPLANE OF 1914. THROUGHOUT THE EARLY YEARS OF THE 1914-18 WAR HE FLEW FREQUENTLY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE FRONT IN FRANCE.



AT THE CONTROLS OF A BOEING 314 FLYING-BOAT, EN ROUTE FROM THE UNITED STATES TO BERMUDA: THE PRIME MINISTER ON HIS WAY BACK TO ENGLAND AFTER THE 1941-42 WINTER VISIT TO AMERICA AND CANADA.



AT THE CONTROLS OVER THE WESTERN DESERT: A SKETCH OF THE PRIME MINISTER IN AUGUST 1942, BY SIR ARTHUR (NOW LORD) TEDDER, DURING THE MISSION TO MOSCOW OF THAT SUMMER. (By Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum.)

It was during his first tenure of office as First Lord of the Admiralty (1911-15) that Sir Winston Churchill became closely associated with the Royal Naval Air Service and in 1913 that he himself began to learn to fly. His first instructors were the late Commander Spenser Grey and Lieutenant Jack Sedden, R.N. It is said that he became a very fair pilot in the air but was uncertain in take-off and landing, his instructors usually taking over the controls at this point. While Secretary of State for Air in 1919 an

aircraft which he was piloting crashed, and his passenger, Group Captain Scott, was badly injured, both legs being broken. Sir Winston himself escaped injury but was badly bruised. The incident caused a certain amount of Parliamentary discussion and Sir Winston gave up his ambition to become a qualified pilot. In his various offices during and after World War I., he was, however, closely associated with the birth and growth of the R.F.C., R.N.A.S. and the R.A.F.



SIR WINSTON AND LADY CHURCHILL'S ONLY SON: MR. RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, M.B.E. (MIL.), WITH HIS SON WINSTON, AND DAUGHTER ARABELLA; AND (RIGHT) YOUNG WINSTON AND ARABELLA. MR. CHURCHILL IS A LECTURER AND JOURNALIST.



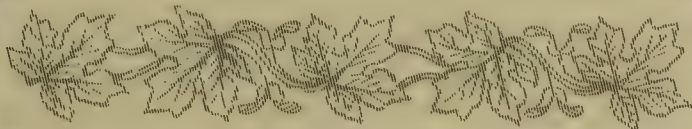
SIR WINSTON AND LADY CHURCHILL'S YOUNGEST DAUGHTER, MARY: MRS. CHRISTOPHER SOAMES, M.B.E. (MIL.), WITH CAPTAIN SOAMES AND THEIR CHILDREN, EMMA (LEFT), NICHOLAS (RIGHT) AND BABY JEREMY.

Sir Winston and Lady Churchill have one son, Mr. Randolph Frederick Edward Spencer Churchill, b. in 1911, who by his first marriage has a son, Winston, b. 1940, and by his second marriage, a daughter, Arabella, b. in 1949. Mr. Randolph Churchill was Conservative Member for Preston from 1940-45. He has edited three collections of his father's speeches, "Arms and the Covenant," "Into Battle" and "The Sinews

of Peace." Sir Winston and Lady Churchill's youngest daughter, Mary, married Captain Christopher Soames in 1947 and has two sons, Arthur Nicholas Winston, b. 1948, and Jeremy Bernard, b. 1952; and one daughter, Emma, b. 1949. Mrs. Soames served in the A.T.S. during the war and became Junior Commander. When Subaltern Mary Churchill, she accompanied her father to the U.S. in 1943.



THE SON OF MRS. DUNCAN SANDYS (FORMERLY MISS DIANA CHURCHILL), ELDEST DAUGHTER OF SIR WINSTON AND LADY CHURCHILL, AND OF MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, MINISTER OF SUPPLY: JULIAN SANDYS, B. 1936.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S SECOND DAUGHTER: MRS. ANTHONY BEAUCHAMP, FORMERLY MISS SARAH CHURCHILL, WHO IS WELL KNOWN AS AN ACTRESS.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S ELDEST DAUGHTER DIANA AND HER TWO DAUGHTERS: MRS. DUNCAN SANDYS, WITH EDWINA, B. 1938 (LEFT), AND CELIA MARY, B. 1943.

Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., and Lady Churchill, G.B.E., have three daughters, all of whom are married. The eldest, formerly Miss Diana Churchill, is the wife of Mr. Duncan Sandys, P.C., M.P., Minister of Supply since 1951, and has three children, Julian George Winston, born in 1936; Edwina, born in 1938, and Celia Mary, born

in 1943. Sir Winston and Lady Churchill's second daughter, formerly Miss Sarah Millicent Hermione Churchill, is the wife of Mr. Anthony Beauchamp, whom she married in 1949. She is well known on the stage in this country and America as Miss Sarah Churchill; and during the war served as Assistant Section Officer, W.A.A.F.

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him, spurned his counsel and kept him from office for eleven long years. Great servant of the House of Commons as he is, and loves to be called, Winston Churchill has on occasions made the House look very mean and shabby.

From the point of view of ordinary human prudence and calculation, there could have been no worse time to take office as Prime Minister than the spring of 1940. France was falling; the miracle of Dunkirk had not yet been granted; Britain was soon to face the foe alone, and practically unarmed. I shall not, I hope, be misunderstood if I suggest that Winston Churchill positively enjoyed the situation. He realised quite soon that the invasion was not as imminent as the rest of the world believed. Yet he had envisaged the possibilities more closely and carefully than anyone else, with that painfully clear, imaginative foresight which must at times be so double-edged a gift.

"I have often wondered what would have happened if two hundred thousand German storm troops had actually established themselves ashore. The massacre would have been on both sides grim and great. There would have been neither mercy nor quarter. They would have used Terror, and we were prepared to go to all lengths. I intended to use the slogan: 'You can always take one with you.' I even calculated that the horrors of such a scene would in the last resort turn the scale in the United States. But none of these emotions was put to the proof. Far out on the grey waters of the North Sea and the Channel coursed and patrolled the faithful eager flotillas peering through the night. High in the air soared the fighter pilots, or waited serene at a moment's notice around their excellent machines. This was a time when it was equally good to live or die."

It is, on the whole, to be expected that Churchill's own bomb stories of the days of the London blitz would be better than those of anyone else—including one's own! And so, indeed, it proves, although in the pages of "Their Finest Hour" he has by no means exhausted his repertoire. On the evening of October 14, 1940, he was giving dinner at No. 10, Downing Street, to Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Colonel Moore-Brabazon. After several loud explosions had occurred near by, the Prime Minister had what he describes as a providential impulse. He suddenly became acutely aware of the kitchen at No. 10, where the meal was then being prepared, and remembered that it was lofty and spacious, looking out through a plate-glass window about 25 ft. high. He ordered the butler to put the dinner on the hot-plate in the dining-room, and the cook and the other servants to go down to the shelter, "such as it was." Three minutes later, "a really very loud crash, close at hand, and a violent shock showed that the house had been struck." "We went into the kitchen to view the scene. The devastation was complete. The bomb had fallen fifty yards away on the Treasury, and the blast had smitten the large, tidy kitchen, with all its bright saucepans and crockery, into a heap of black dust and rubble. The big plate-glass window had been hurled in fragments and splinters across the room, and would, of course, have cut its occupants, if there had been any, to pieces. . . . As the raid continued and seemed to grow in intensity, we put on our tin hats and went out to view the scene from the top of the Annexe buildings. Before doing so, however, I could not resist taking Mrs. Landemare (the cook) and the others from the shelter to see the kitchen. They were upset at the sight of the wreck, but principally on account of the general untidiness!"

There is no need, I feel sure, to labour the various points of this little story. I prefer to quote one showing the Prime Minister among the people of South London:

"One day after luncheon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kingsley Wood, came to see me on business at No. 10, and we heard a very heavy explosion take place across the river in South London. I took him to see what had happened. The bomb had fallen in Peckham. It was a very big one—probably a land-mine. It had completely destroyed or gutted twenty or thirty small three-storey houses and cleared a considerable open space in this very poor district. Already little pathetic Union Jacks had been stuck up amid the ruins. When my car was recognised the people came running from all quarters, and a crowd of more than a thousand was soon gathered. All these folk were in a high state of enthusiasm. They crowded round us, cheering and manifesting every sign of

lively affection, wanting to touch and stroke my clothes. One would have thought I had brought them some fine substantial benefit which would improve their lot in life. I was completely undermined, and wept. Ismay, who was with me, records that he heard an old woman say: 'You see, he really cares. He's crying.' They were tears not of sorrow, but of wonder and admiration. . . . When we got back into the car a harsher mood swept over this haggard crowd. 'Give it 'em back!' they cried, and 'Let them have it, too.' I undertook forthwith to see that their wishes were carried out; and this promise was certainly kept. The debt was repaid tenfold, twentyfold, in the frightful routine bombardment of German cities, which grew in intensity as our air-power developed, as the bombs became heavier and the explosives more powerful. Certainly the enemy got it all back in good measure, pressed down and running over. Alas for poor humanity!"

And to complete this picture, I will quote a story typical of those days, as it is typical of the traditional British qualities of which the Prime Minister himself stood as a symbol:

"One (bomb-disposal) squad I remember which may be taken as symbolic of many others. It consisted of three people—the Earl of Suffolk, his lady private secretary, and his rather aged chauffeur. They called themselves 'the Holy Trinity.' Their prowess and continued existence got around among all who knew. Thirty-four unexploded bombs did they tackle with urbane and smiling efficiency. But the thirty-fifth claimed its forfeit. Up went the Earl of Suffolk in his Holy Trinity. But we may be sure that, as for Mr. Valiant-for-Truth, 'all the trumpets sounded for them on the other side.'"

All these war books and documents, it seems to me, illustrate one of Churchill's leading characteristics—his intense concentration on the matter in hand. He had undertaken to destroy Nazi Germany and the Axis Powers, and nothing was ever to be allowed to divert his attention from this object, or to delay or hinder it for a moment. This is an admirable quality, and there is no doubt but that to it we owe, to a great extent, the achievement of victory itself, and the kind of victory that was, in fact, achieved. But it is a quality that has its dangers. History has yet to

pronounce upon the "loose ends," to use no severer name, which the Allied Powers failed to tie up securely and satisfactorily—even, some would claim, justly. Among these loose ends were the futures of Germany, Austria, Poland and Yugoslavia, and—most burning question of all—the whole problem of the future relations between Russia and the Western Powers. Against this criticism two answers may be adduced: first, that it takes two to reach an agreement on fundamental questions, and that Russia was unwilling to reach such an agreement; furthermore, Russia knew exactly what she wanted and where she was going, whereas the Western Allies were in a position of uncertainty, and could only hope against hope that the comradeship established with the Com-



THE PRINCESS AND THE COURTIER: THE PRIME MINISTER BOWING TO HIS QUEEN-TO-BE, H.R.H. PRINCESS ELIZABETH, IN JULY 1951, AT THE OPENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CENTRE AT CHIGWELL.

HUSBAND AND WIFE: A CHARMING PHOTOGRAPH—TAKEN IN THE DRAWING-ROOM OF NO. 10, DOWNING STREET—SHOWING MRS. CHURCHILL PINNING A FLAG FOR "MRS. CHURCHILL'S RED CROSS FUND" ON THE PREMIER'S LAPEL, TO HIS BENIGN SMILE. THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN IN AUGUST 1941, JUST BEFORE HE LEFT FOR THE ATLANTIC CHARTER MEETING.

unist East during the war period might last into the period of peace. The second answer is that these major questions were indeed confronted, and such solutions were reached as were possible, given the circumstances and the fact that major ruptures between the most powerful of the Allied countries were unthinkable while fighting was still in progress.

This is not the place to pursue these particular problems. But it is necessary to raise them, because they will be raised by history in connection with Winston Churchill's character and ability. We are beginning to understand that decisions taken, for instance, at Teheran and at Yalta depended as much, if not more, upon the attitude of President Roosevelt than upon that of the British Prime Minister; that the mistakes—for mistakes there undoubtedly were—in dealing with Stalin derived primarily from the President's fixed idea that he understood the Communist leader's mentality and could win his friendship. I do not believe that in his official books Winston Churchill has said all he would say on this delicate subject. I believe that even in those days his eyes were much more widely open to the dangers with which we might later be confronted by wrong decisions than he has so far admitted. And I believe that his reticence is due in part to consideration for the posthumous fame of President Roosevelt, and in greater part to a faint, lingering hope that an accommodation may even yet be brought about with Communist Russia, and that such a hope

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LEAVING LENNOX HILL HOSPITAL, NEW YORK, ON DECEMBER 21, 1931, AFTER HAVING RECOVERED FROM THE EFFECTS OF BEING KNOCKED DOWN BY A TAXI: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, WITH PLASTER ON HIS FACE.



AFTER AN ATTACK OF PARATYPHOID IN 1932: (TOP) SIR WINSTON LEAVING THE BEAUMONT STREET NURSING HOME; (CENTRE) BEING TAKEN TO HIS LONDON FLAT ON OCTOBER 10, 1932; AND (LOWER) LEAVING THE NURSING HOME.



CELEBRATING HIS RECOVERY FROM A SEVERE BOUT OF PNEUMONIA: SIR WINSTON WITH THE THEN GENERAL EISENHOWER (LEFT) IN NORTH AFRICA ON CHRISTMAS DAY, 1943, AFTER AN INFORMAL LUNCHEON PARTY.

"I certainly must be very tough or very lucky, or both." Sir Winston was referring to the accident he had in New York when he wrote this, but the manner in which he got over his subsequent illnesses proved the truth of his words. Whilst in New York in 1931 on a lecture tour he was knocked down by a taxi—on December 13—broke fifteen bones and had an internal hæmorrhage. The following year he was ill with paratyphoid,

suffered a relapse and had to go into a nursing home. His two bouts of pneumonia during World War II., the first following the Casablanca Conference of January 1943, and the second after his journey to Cairo and Teheran in December 1943, were plainly caused by the strain of travelling coupled with the burden of wartime responsibility. In each case, however, his astounding vitality enabled him to make a swift recovery.



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Muse herself benefited, for Sir Winston Churchill's talent was well worth developing, and in comparatively few years he attained considerable skill. He usually paints landscapes and has also done flower subjects (examples of both these are reproduced in colour on another page), but he has been equally successful with interiors, as shown by the painting of Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, which we reproduce. It depicts one of the series of Brussels tapestries commemorating the victories of John Churchill, the first Duke of Marlborough, which hang in the State rooms.

Reproduced by permission of Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., O.M., R.A. Extraordinary.

LEFT: "BLENHEIM TAPESTRIES"; BY SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, K.G., HON. ROYAL ACADEMICIAN EXTRAORDINARY. EXHIBITED IN THE ROYAL ACADEMY IN 1948.



"SAILING-BOATS IN HARBOUR AT ANTIBES"; c. 1930. ONE OF THE THREE PAINTINGS WHICH SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL EXHIBITED AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY IN 1953.



"THE CALANQUE, CASSIS"; 1920. ONE OF THE FOUR PAINTINGS BY WHICH SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, K.G., WAS REPRESENTED IN THE R.A. IN 1950.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S accomplishments as an artist were not disclosed to the general public till 1947, when two paintings by him were exhibited in the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. In the following year he was elected Hon. R.A. Extraordinary, and he has shown paintings at Burlington House annually since then. It was in 1948 that he published "Painting as a Pastime," a delightful book which let his readers into the secret of how he took to the art—which he had not previously attempted—after he had passed the age of forty. When he left the Admiralty in May 1915, he had long hours of "utterly unwonted leisure in which to contemplate the frightful unfolding of the war." He found that the Muse of Painting came to his rescue, and he discovered great joy in wooing her. The

[Continued above.]

RIGHT: "THE GOLDFISH POOL, CHARTWELL"; A PAINTING WHICH SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL EXHIBITED AT BURLINGTON HOUSE IN 1948.





The Hon. R.A. Extraordinary: Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., as Artist.

Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., gifted amateur artist and Royal Academy exhibitor, was elected Hon. Royal Academician Extraordinary in 1948. Our colour photograph of him at work on a landscape of a bend in the Sorgues River, Vaucluse, France, shows his valet standing behind him, and Lord Cherwell, reading, on the right. Sir Winston's "10-gallon" Stetson, which he got years ago in California, shields his head from the sun and he wears an overall to protect his clothes.

Reproduced by courtesy of "Life" Magazine and "The Daily Telegraph."



FOR the last six years one of Sir Winston Churchill's constant and most devoted companions has been his chocolate-coloured miniature poodle *Rufus II.*, who can be seen with his master in the photographs on this page. *Rufus* is the successor of another miniature poodle owned by Sir Winston, which was killed by a bus in Brighton during the Conservative Conference there in October 1947. Except when the Prime Minister goes abroad he is rarely separated from *Rufus*, who frequently accompanies his master on car journeys, usually sitting next to him. Sir Winston may think as Horace Walpole did: "Sense and fidelity are wonderful recommendations; and when one meets with them, and can be confident that one is not imposed upon, I cannot think that the two additional legs are any drawback. At least I know that I have had friends who would never have vexed or betrayed me, if they had walked on all fours."



Continued from page 50.]

might be finally destroyed by too great frankness on the part of one who is once more Prime Minister of Britain.

But when all is said and done, Churchill's attitude was largely dictated by his complete absorption with the task in hand. Nothing could illustrate this better than an account given by his private secretary, Mr. Colville, of the Prime Minister's first reaction to the news that Germany had attacked Russia. The passage is quoted in "The Grand Alliance":

"On Saturday, June 21, I went down to Chequers just before dinner. Mr. and Mrs. Winant, Mr. and Mrs. Eden, and Edward Bridges were staying. During dinner, Mr. Churchill said that a German attack on Russia was now certain, and he thought that Hitler was counting on enlisting capitalist and Right Wing sympathies in this country and the U.S.A. Hitler was, however, wrong, and we should go all out to help Russia. Winant said the same would be true of the U.S.A."

"After dinner, when I was walking on the croquet lawn with Mr. Churchill, he reverted to this theme, and I asked whether for him, the arch anti-Communist, this was not bowing down in the House of Rimmon. Mr. Churchill replied: 'Not at all. I have only one purpose—the destruction of Hitler—and my life is much simplified thereby. If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons.'"

No one, I think, could possibly object to Mr. Churchill's having supped with the Devil, but many can be found to wish that he had used a longer spoon!

In his accounts of the Moscow Conference of 1942, it is evident that Mr. Churchill was often offended by Stalin's attitude and expressions, and that he lost no opportunity of giving as good as he got. It is evident, too, that this was the right policy, and that it won results. But with what gusto the Prime Minister enjoyed the exotic forms of Russian hospitality:

"Everything was prepared with totalitarian lavishness. There was placed at my disposal, as aide-de-camp, an enormous, splendid-looking officer (I believe of a princely family under the Czarist régime), who also acted as our host and was a model of courtesy and attention. A number of veteran servants in white jackets and beaming smiles waited on every wish or movement of the guests. A long table in the dining-room and various sideboards were laden with every delicacy and stimulant that supreme power can command. I was conducted through a spacious reception room to a bedroom and bathroom of almost equal size. Blazing, almost dazzling, electric lights displayed the spotless cleanliness. The hot and cold water gushed. I longed for a hot bath after the length and heat of the journey. All was instantly prepared. I noticed that the basins were not fed by separate hot and cold water-taps and that they had no plugs. Hot and cold are turned on at once through a single spout, mingled to exactly the temperature one desired. Moreover, one did not wash one's hands in the basins, but under the flowing current of the taps. In a modest way, I have adopted this system at home. If there is no scarcity of water it is far the best . . .

"Out of doors the weather was beautiful. It was just like what we love most in England—when we get it. I thought we would explore the domain. State Villa Seven was a fine, large, brand-new country house standing in its own extensive lawns and gardens in a fir wood of about twenty acres. There were agreeable walks, and it was pleasant in the beautiful August weather to lie on the grass or pine-needles. There were several fountains, and a large glass tank filled with many kinds of goldfish, who were all so tame that they would eat out of your hand. I made a point of feeding them every day. Around the whole was a stockade, perhaps fifteen feet high, guarded on both sides by police and soldiers in considerable numbers. About a hundred yards from the house was an air-raid shelter. At the first opportunity we were conducted over it.

It was of the latest and most luxurious type. Lifts at either end took you down eighty or ninety feet into the ground. Here were eight or ten large rooms inside a concrete box of massive thickness. The rooms were divided from each other by heavy sliding doors. The lights were brilliant. The furniture was stylish 'Utility,' sumptuous and brightly coloured. I was more attracted by the goldfish."

Contrast this with a couple of little vignettes of President Roosevelt, which occur in Mr. Churchill's account of his third visit to Washington, in May 1943:

"For the week-end of May 15 the President proposed to take me, not to Hyde Park, but to Shangri-La, which was the name he gave the mountain refuge, about 2,000 feet high, in the Catoctin Hills, in Maryland, where he sheltered, whenever the chance offered itself, from the stifling heat and buzz of Washington. . . . Shangri-La . . . was in principle a log cabin, with all modern improvements. In front was a fountain and a pool of clear water, in which swam a number of large trout, newly caught in the neighbouring stream and awaiting the consummation of their existence."

"The President had been looking forward to a few hours with his stamp collection. General 'Pa' Watson, his personal aide, brought him several large albums and a number of envelopes full of specimens he had long desired. I watched him with much interest and in silence for perhaps half an hour as he stuck them in, each in its proper place, and so forgot the cares of State. But soon another car drove up to the door, and out stepped General Bedell Smith, quick-winged from Eisenhower's headquarters, with a budget of serious questions on which decisions were urgently required. Sadly, F.D.R. left his stamp collection and addressed himself to his task. By the evening we were all tired out, and went to bed at ten."

The second occasion took place during the same visit:

"On Sunday the President wanted to fish in a stream which flowed through lovely woods. He was placed with great care by the side of a pool, and sought to entice the nimble and wily fish. I tried for some time myself at other spots. No fish were caught, but he seemed to enjoy it very much, and was in great spirits for the rest of the day. Evidently he had the first quality of an angler, which is not to measure the pleasure by the catch."

Fish—I wonder what our psychologists would have to say about this?—always seem to bring out that delicious twinkle in Mr. Churchill's prose. Here they appear once more, in a holiday moment after the Quebec Conference of 1943:

"Brooke and Portal were leaving the next day. It was just as well. They had caught a hundred fish apiece each day, and had only to continue at this rate to lower the level of the lake appreciably. My wife and I sallied forth in separate boats for several hours, and though we are neither of us experts we certainly caught a lot of fine fish. We were sometimes given rods with three separate hooks, and once I caught three fish at the same time. I do not know whether this was fair."

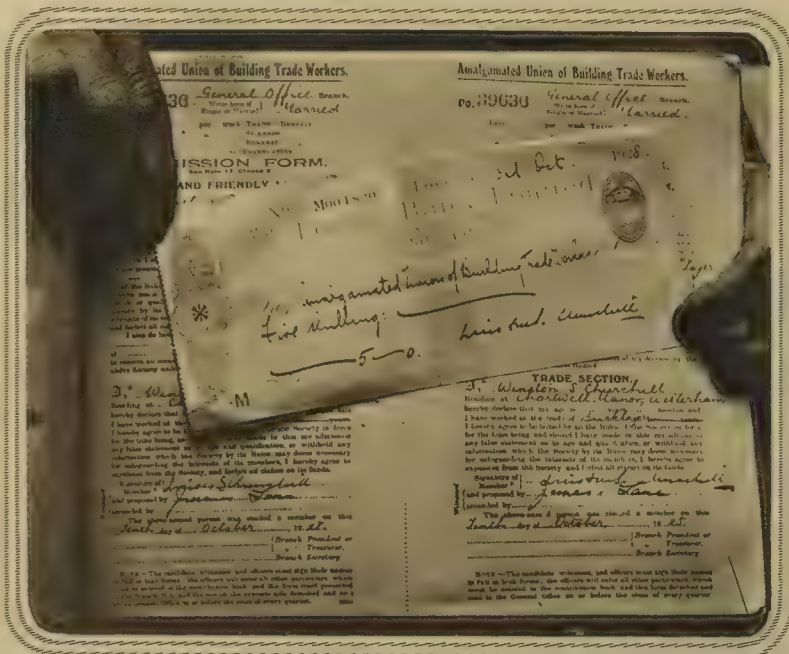
Churchill seems to regard the whole animal kingdom with this quizzical sense of humour. In February 1943, when he was suffering from pneumonia, he learnt that he had been presented with a lion. This delighted him:

"He was a male lion of fine quality, and in eight years became the father of many children. The assistant secretary who had been with me in the airplane came with some papers. He was a charming man, highly competent, but physically on the small side. Indulging in chaff, I now showed him a magnificent photograph of Rota with his mouth open, saying, 'If there are any shortcomings in your work I shall send you to him. Meat is very short now.' He took a serious view of this remark. He reported to the office that I was in delirium."

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"THE ADULT APPRENTICE"—CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, AND BRICKLAYER: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, IN THE LATER 1920's, ENGAGED IN BUILDING A COTTAGE AT CHARTWELL.



SIR WINSTON'S ENTRY INTO A TRADE UNION: THE CHEQUE FOR FIVE SHILLINGS, AND THE ADMISSION FORM OF OCTOBER 1928, AS A RESULT OF WHICH HE WAS RATED AN "ADULT APPRENTICE" IN THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF BUILDING TRADE WORKERS.

During his period of office as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Winston Churchill began to practise the handicraft of bricklaying for pleasure, and in the course of building a cottage and a long wall on his Chartwell estate, worked with a professional bricklayer about five or six hours a day until he could lay a brick a minute. In 1928, at the invitation of Mr. Hicks, the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, he joined the Union; and we reproduce above his cheque to the Union and his admission form, signed by himself, and seconded by Mr. James Lane, the Southern Counties Divisional Secretary, then Mayor of Battersea. He was rated as an "adult apprentice." This act was later denounced by the Builders' Union; but, although the subscription was never paid into the Union funds, Sir Winston retained his Union ticket.



"To restore psychic equilibrium," Sir Winston Churchill has written, "we should call into use those parts of the mind which direct both eye and hand. Many men have found great advantage in practising a handicraft for pleasure." And as we have recorded on the opposite page, during the years when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and later,

the handicraft which Sir Winston himself practised was brick-laying; and he practised it with his customary enthusiasm. Among the work which he built at Chartwell—in whole or part, for visitors were liable to be enrolled in the current task—were two cottages, a swimming-pool and the wall enclosing a formal garden—of which we here show part.

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"To the Duke [of Devonshire] I wrote :

" 'I shall have much pleasure in becoming the possessor of the lion, on condition that I do not have to feed it or take care of it, and that the Zoo makes sure that it does not get loose.

" 'You are quite right in your assumption that I do not want the lion at the moment either in Downing Street or at Chequers, owing to the Ministerial calm which prevails there. But the Zoo is not far away, and situations may arise in which I shall have great need of it.

" 'I hope to come and see the lion some time when the weather is better, and also my black swans.

" 'I consider you personally bound to receive the lion at Chatsworth should all else fail.' "

A robust sense of humour is a great and valuable gift, though it sometimes requires endurance from those who become the object of it. I should have liked, for instance, to have been a fly on the wall at a certain conference in 1942 :

"As my plans for the Ministry of Production approached completion, I observed with pain that Lord Beaverbrook's physical health was rapidly breaking down. He began to suffer acutely from asthma, which often deprived him of sleep, that healer of all. One night after my return from Washington, when we were in conference at the Annexe, I was vexed by a persistent noise, and said abruptly, 'Let someone go out and stop that cat mewling.' A silence fell on the company, and I realised that this was the asthma of my poor friend. I expressed my regrets and the incident ended . . . "

When victory came—a victory the completeness of which tended at first to obscure new and terrifying dangers—an ungrateful electorate forced yet a third period of retirement on the prime mover of that victory. Sir Winston went. It would be idle to pretend that he did so either willingly or happily. His far-ranging mind hankered after a continuation of the "grand coalition," so that the unity of the nation should not be impaired, when faced with the colossal tasks and dangers of the peace.

There is no doubt, I think, that Sir Winston was deeply hurt and mortified by the electorate's action, though, characteristically, he was more sorry for the stupidity of the electorate than for its attitude towards him. To be cast from the very pinnacle of such power meant more to him, perhaps, than it would to any other man. Once more he was left to warn without the power of controlling. "They say that it is a blessing in disguise," he remarked to one friend. "All I can say is that it is a very good disguise."

This is not the place to describe the long, slow march back to power, except to marvel once again at the prescience of a statesman who is—as in the great Fulton speech on the menace of Russia—always and exasperatingly ahead of his time.

Once again there was the possibility of diverting his superabundant energies into the incredibly various by-ways of his life. There was painting to be done, canvases to be "attacked," with a Dantonian vigour. (For was it not Sir Winston, who laid it down in that excellent little book on painting that you should wield your brush like a sword, and assault a canvas like a fortress?)

Sir Winston's painting, like so many other things in his life, he does extremely well, so that his canvases, of which there are a large number but very few on the market, fetch high prices on their own merits, and not on their curiosity value.

There were the gardens of Chartwell to be supervised. Oriental fish to be observed and tended. Ponds to be cleaned out by hand. Butterflies and moths of that Kent in which they abound, to be noted (for I once heard Sir Winston describe himself as "a lepidopterist—or as we used to say at Harrow, a bug-hunter"). There were Shadow Cabinets to be held, colleagues to be kept up to the mark, former colleagues, now opponents, to be exhorted in private in the gentler Churchillian way, and castigated in public if they failed to take his advice.

Above all, there was his writing. As I have said earlier, it is almost incredible that his World War II. memoirs should have been written in so short a space of time. It would have been incredible even had he been a professional writer with nothing else to do.

Always, too, there was the House of Commons, which had been his home-from-home for over fifty years. Opponents might be roused to frenzy by those well-directed Winstonian shafts. Anxious Tory Back-Benchers might on occasion mutter "The Old Man is failing." But there has never been any question, whether in opposition or in power, of his hold over the House. He has played on it like a master on an

instrument. He had only to enter the House for a ripple, a stir, to go round the public galleries. In his hands, even his hearing aid became a weapon. Many an opponent and many a bore has been effectively silenced by that characteristic Winstonian flourish with which he snapped it off, or pulverised by a loud voice saying to a Front Bench colleague : "Who is this fellow, and what is he saying?"

And always Sir Winston has maintained his youthful zest—that enquiring mind which led him to pester that unfortunate schoolmaster about the vocative of *mensa* so long ago. He has properly never liked scientists—with one notable exception—believing them to be the "blear-eyed chemists," who are all that can expect to survive after the world's frequent, foolish holocausts. Nevertheless, he has been almost Athenian in his desire to see and to do some new thing. In both wars, his advisers have been subjected to a stream of memoranda and directives on their own subjects. Again and again Sir Winston has beaten them at their own game, and been proved disconcertingly right. There were, for instance, the tanks in World War I., the Mulberry harbours in World War II., while one still serving officer will recall his searching questions about a certain type of sight : ("And what, pray, is this somewhat vacillating instrument?"). And there is another small group who will remember vividly the Prime Minister sprinting for cover when pursued by a sonic weapon whose discharge he had incautiously cheered on a bleak February afternoon in Buckinghamshire.

So the long procession of Winston Churchills marches past. There is the active and superbly brave soldier—for just as he has greater moral courage than almost any man of our time, so I do not believe that he has an atom of physical fear anywhere in his make-up. There is the statesman who has held every important office of State. (If you object : What about the Foreign Office? all I can say is, ask the Foreign Office their view on Sir Winston's sometimes painfully close interest in their doings.) There is the great promoter of Anglo-American unity—the most valuable link between two great countries who has ever existed, enabled by his American blood, and by the flash and fire of his inspiration, to enforce respect and compel affection.

There is the lifelong friend of France, the persisting admirer of that country's civilisation, the faithful ally, the sometimes dismayed friend. (Sir Winston Churchill's French is, of course, all his own—fluent, but sometimes startling. Did he not once reply to a baffled French Ambassador, who had asked him what his uniform, that of an Elder Brother of Trinity House, was : "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, moi, je suis un frère aîné de la Trinité." On which M. de Fleuriau could only comment : "Mon Dieu ! Quelle belle situation !")

Next marches the historian—of his ancestor, the great Duke of Marlborough, and of the greater events of our own time. There is the master of the spoken word, whose speeches, sometimes like Atlantic rollers, aweing by their greatness, their roll and their majesty, sometimes compelling and

moving by their startling monosyllabic simplicity. There is Sir Winston the traveller, ranging the world from youth to old age, but always eager, always vividly descriptive. There is Winston the conversationalist, whom young men, who will then be old men, will endeavour to describe to their grandchildren, and most assuredly fail.

There is the "Former Naval Person," cherishing the traditions of the Royal Navy, but ever and actively-minded seeking for it the most modern improvements. There is Winston the human being, as exacting to his subordinates as he is to himself, loyal to his friends and generous to former opponents—both almost to a fault. There is Winston the polo player, who once took part in a final match in India which was an epic on the lines of the "Maltese Cat." There is Winston the bricklayer, and the holder, somewhat surprisingly, of a Trade Union ticket. There is Winston the air pilot—though not, it must be confessed, a very good one—whose active career in the air ended with a crash which had unpleasant consequences for his instructor.

The only form of activity in the arts either of war or peace in which Sir Winston has not indulged is that of poetry. I am not aware that Sir Winston has ever written a poem, though even here I should not be surprised to be proved wrong, and to learn that a major epic will be found among his papers.

The procession passes by with a stamp and a jingle, a tossing of plumes, a glint of sabres. Caesar marches by the side of Cicero and in this greatest of men, majesty of conception goes hand-in-hand with humanity ; vast breadth of outlook with puckish whim, and we are left to say with truth to those who come after us : "We shall not look upon his like again."—END.

February 11, 1954.



THE VICTORY "V"—THE SIGN OF COURAGE, CONFIDENCE AND VICTORY—WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER MADE POPULAR DURING WORLD WAR II. ; AND WHICH, TRANSLATED INTO THE MENACING MORSE SIGNAL (DOT-DOT-DOT-DASH), BECAME THE RALLYING SOUND OF RESISTANCE GROUPS ALL OVER OCCUPIED EUROPE.



(ABOVE.) "LA MONTAGNE SAINTE-VICTOIRE," SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S RENDERING OF A SUBJECT OFTEN PAINTED BY CÉZANNE, EXHIBITED AT BURLINGTON HOUSE IN 1950. AND (BELOW) "MAGNOLIA, CIRCA 1930"; AN EXTREMELY ATTRACTIVE FLOWER PAINTING BY SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL; EXHIBITED IN THE R.A. IN 1951.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, K.G., great statesman, superb orator, historian of the first rank, and inspiring war leader, became interested in painting a good many years ago, and in his book "Painting as a Pastime," published in 1948, he gave an account of how he came to take up art seriously, and described how greatly he profited by the advice he received from the late Lady Lavery, the wife of Sir John Lavery, the distinguished painter, and herself an artist of considerable attainments. Sir Winston steadily developed his natural taste for painting, and in 1947 for the first time exhibited examples of his work in the Royal Academy. In the following year he had three pictures hung

[Continued opposite.]



[Continued.] at Burlington House, and in 1949, following his election as an Honorary Royal Academician Extraordinary in 1948, he was represented at Burlington House by his full quota of six paintings. On this page we reproduce two of Sir Winston Churchill's Royal Academy exhibits. The landscape represents a famous view, that of *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire*, which was one of the favourite subjects of Paul Cézanne; and the scene which the great French Impressionist painter so loved inspired Sir Winston Churchill, the English statesman and amateur painter, to produce one of his most successful landscapes.

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SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S PLACE IN HISTORY.

BY SIR CHARLES PETRIE, BT.

OF the world's great statesmen there are some who seem to have come fully equipped into public life, and to have owed very little either to heredity or to environment. The Younger Pitt was an outstanding example of this type. It is true that he was the son of Chatham, but in character the two men were as the poles asunder, except that neither of them ever despaired of his country even in its darkest hour, for what the Younger Pitt was when he entered the House of Commons he was when he died exactly twenty-five years later. Winston Churchill was to prove the exact opposite: the influence of heredity has always been very present to his mind; he has reproduced more than one of the characteristics of his father, Lord Randolph; and the storm and stress of his career, and of the times in which it has been passed, have by no means left him unaffected. Indeed, to understand that career it is first of all necessary to master the family and personal background against which it has been set.

No man has ever been more conscious of an ancestor than Winston Churchill is of John, first Duke of Marlborough. Of all British Prime Ministers, he is easily the most interested in, and knowledgeable of, military matters, and this is in origin unquestionably due to what amounts to hero-worship of the great soldier. If anyone should be tempted to question the statement, let him read a few chapters of "Marlborough: His Life and Times." In writing this biography, Winston Churchill merged himself with the subject of it, until in the last volume it becomes a veritable *apologia pro vita mea*. He will never concede that his ancestor was wrong, or was actuated by unworthy motives: to have done so would have been to question his own conduct. So we are given a book which defends Marlborough on all counts, and in which not a single point is conceded to his critics. Its author has even convinced himself that John Churchill's desertion of James II. was due to his devotion to the Protestant religion, and has expressed this opinion in conversation: hero-worship could hardly go further than that. As a leader in war Winston Churchill drew much of his inspiration from his ancestor, so that his respect for Marlborough may without exaggeration be described as one of the formative influences of his statesmanship.

Then there is the fascination of Lord Randolph's career for his son. Every detail of that career has been studied and memorised by Winston, and more than once his colleagues have been surprised at the reaction caused by a casual allusion to Lord Randolph by one of them in conversation or in arguing a point. How far the father's influence is due to heredity and how far to conscious imitation on the part of the son it is

impossible to say, though the most careful perusal of that son's biography, "Lord Randolph Churchill," with its significant omissions, may cause the reader to hazard a guess. Whether Lord Randolph could have become a constructive statesman or a competent administrator is difficult to decide, for he had no opportunity of proving his worth; but he unquestionably possessed some of the qualities of leadership such as courage, insight,

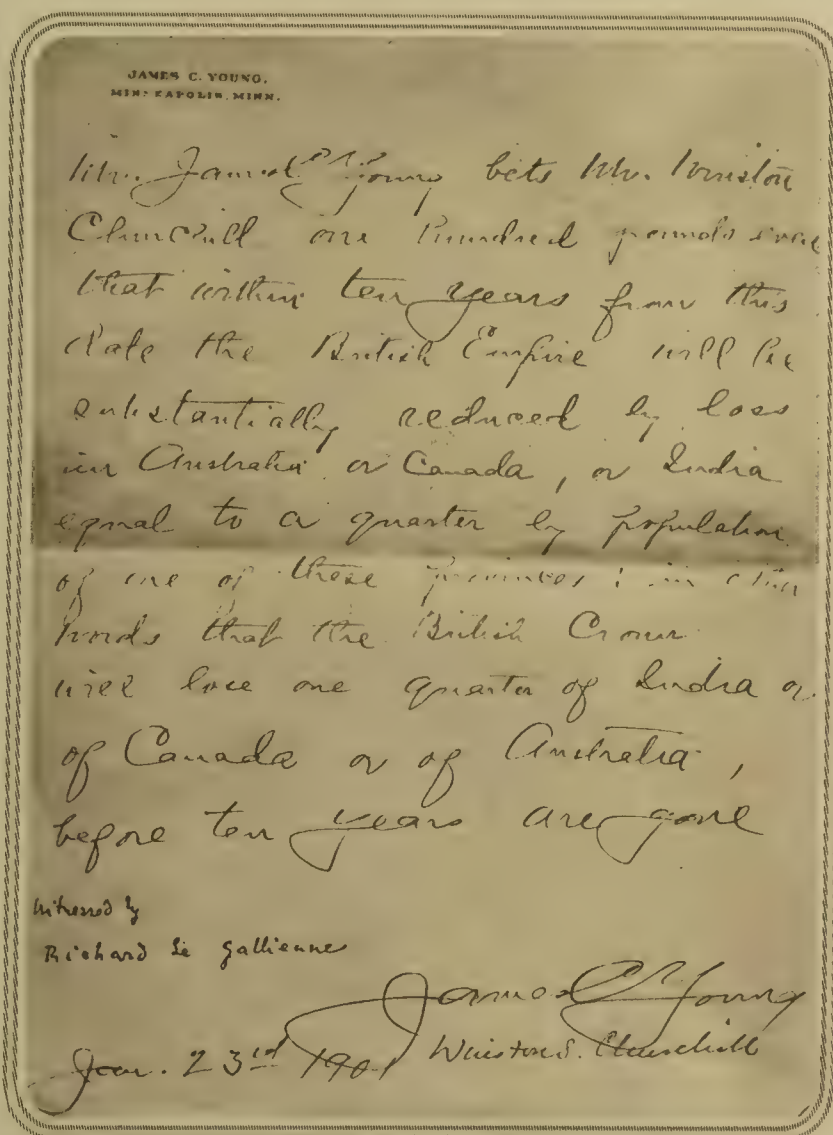
industry, quickness of apprehension, bold and ready speech, and the power of influencing others; these assets, however, were counterbalanced by the defects of a reckless and unscrupulous partisanship. Perhaps posterity will take the view that time to learn by experience, which was denied to the father, was granted to the son.

Like George Canning, whose career somewhat resembled his own, Winston Churchill can profit by his mistakes, once he realises that they are mistakes. Just as Canning, after his failure to obtain office on his own terms after the murder of Perceval in 1812, was more circumspect in his behaviour on future occasions, so Churchill refrained at the General Elections of 1950 and 1951 from those sweeping denunciations of his opponents which had lost his party so many votes in 1945. Indeed, he went almost to the other extreme, and more than once declared that Mr. Attlee and he were united in their opposition to Communism—an argument that by no means met with the approval of the majority of his followers. When, incidentally, he discovered that this was the case, he ceased to use it.

What is not always appreciated, at any rate outside political circles, is that Churchill is essentially a House of Commons man, and unless this fact is also grasped by posterity there is a danger of the real outlook of the man being misunderstood by future generations, for it explains much that would otherwise be inexplicable. But, it may be contended, Charles James Fox was also a House of Commons man *par excellence*; why did he fail and Churchill succeed? The answer surely is that Fox never looked

beyond the walls of the House of Commons—and the Subscription Room at Brooks's—whereas Churchill has never neglected the outside world. So, dictatorial as his powers may have been during the Second World War, he always took the greatest care to appear as the servant of Parliament, and this attitude was no mere pose. Truculent and even offensive as he may be in debate, once away from Westminster he is capable of exhibiting the greatest sympathy for a fellow-member, whatever his party, and this explains such courtesy towards an opponent as that which he displayed when Mr. Attlee received the Freedom of the City of London last year; his friendly remarks on that occasion about the Leader of the Opposition mystified and exasperated very many members

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BACKING HIS FAITH IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE WITH A £100 WAGER IN 1901: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S SIGNATURE ON A "BETTING SLIP," DATED JANUARY 23, 1901, IN THE HANDWRITING OF A FRIEND, MR. JAMES C. YOUNG, WITH WHOM HE TOOK UP THE WAGER IN THE UNITED STATES.

In June 1948, the "betting slip" shown here was sold by auction in London by Sotheby's, and was bought by a New York firm for £80. It dates from January 23, 1901, when Mr. Winston Churchill was in the United States, and is in the handwriting of his friend, Mr. James C. Young of Minneapolis, and reads: "Mr. James C. Young bets Mr. Winston Churchill one hundred pounds even that within ten years from this date the British Empire will be substantially reduced by loss in Australia or Canada, or India equal to a quarter by population of one of these provinces: in other words that the British Crown will lose one-quarter of India or of Canada or of Australia, before ten years are gone." It is signed by James C. Young, and Winston S. Churchill, also by Richard Le Gallienne, who witnessed it. The terms were set out in duplicate; and Mr. Young's copy was sold in 1945.

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of the Conservative Party, including more than one of the officials of the Conservative Central Office, who considered them to be extremely ill-timed when there were a couple of by-elections pending.

At the same time posterity will be wrong if it deduces from all this that Churchill regarded politics as a mere game, for nothing could be further from the truth. Nor is it that, like Arthur Balfour, he is a detached observer of the drama in which he is himself playing a prominent part. Rather is it that he grew up in an era which has vanished; an era when politicians could meet as friends once they had left the arena, as he and F. E. Smith and Hugh Cecil had met in days long gone by. Churchill is one of the last survivors of those spacious days, and from time to time the habits they bred still influence his conduct and outlook. Whether his opponents appreciate this is questionable, but one of them, Mr. Emanuel Shinwell, M.P., has written, "How can one work up an intense dislike for a man who has 'borne the heat and burden of the day,' whose abilities are unquestionable, even though directed into the wrong channels, and who concentrates in his person such varied and brilliant qualities?"

It would thus be almost certainly true to say that no British statesman of modern times, and very few of any time, have been so much influenced, either consciously or unconsciously, by their family and personal background as Winston Churchill. This fact is not always sufficiently appreciated by contemporaries, and it is to be hoped that full allowance will be made by succeeding generations; otherwise they will not understand the most remarkable personality in British politics in the middle of the twentieth century.

Of one thing we may be certain, and it is that posterity will examine Winston Churchill's career as a whole, and will not concentrate, as the present generation is inclined to do, upon that period of it which began with his first Premiership. In these circumstances it is not unimportant to look at that career from the point of view which may well be adopted after his death.

The first incident around which controversy is likely to arise is his secession from the Conservative Party in 1904 over the question of Tariff Reform. His reasons for "crossing the floor" probably went far deeper than distaste for the fiscal proposals of Joseph Chamberlain, and they are probably to be found in a general dissatisfaction with Balfour's leadership akin to that which he was a generation later to feel with that of Baldwin. It is said that before he took his final decision he consulted Chamberlain himself, who told him that were he in Churchill's position he would do the same thing. Yet it is permissible to wonder whether a devotion to the principle of Free Trade was, in the light of his Budgets when Chancellor of the Exchequer, the reason or the excuse for his abandonment of the Conservative Party. In 1911 Austen Chamberlain wrote of him: "It's curious, by the way, that when I met him at Dunrobin in 1902 he asked me what I wanted to become. I had then just been made P.M.G., and I said that since I had known it, I had always thought the Admiralty one of the pleasantest offices and the post of First Lord one of the proudest positions that any Englishman could occupy. Winston pooh-poohed it as a 'poor ambition.'"

Yet if ambition was his dominant motive, was he not guilty of a grave error of judgment? Had he remained a Conservative, he, not Bonar Law, might have been the *tertius gaudens* in 1911 when Walter Long and Austen Chamberlain refused to put the party leadership to the vote; whereas twenty-nine years were to pass before, in very different circumstances, he became leader. On the other hand, there was no chance of getting to the top in the Liberal Party. Four years after Churchill joined it Asquith succeeded Campbell-Bannerman, and had it not been for the First World War, which no one could have foreseen in 1904, he would in all probability have remained leader until his death. So, if the Premiership was Winston's aim, as is suggested by his remark to Austen Chamberlain, he ruined his chance of attaining it at an early age by this change of allegiance. It was surely one of the ironies of history that by joining the Liberals he became one of the outstanding First Lords of the Admiralty,

and thus fulfilled the "poor ambition" which he had ridiculed; but it is at any rate arguable that had he remained a Conservative he might have become leader of his party in 1911, and possibly Prime Minister in 1916 instead of Lloyd George.

Whatever view posterity may take of this particular incident, it is likely to consider that during many years of his public life Winston Churchill was an uneasy colleague and on occasion an unnecessarily bitter opponent. When he was at the Home Office in 1911 King George V. remarked one day to John Burns, "I fear that the Home Secretary has not been quite successful in conciliating the House." "Well, your Majesty," came the reply, "Winston Churchill does not exactly walk about the House with an oil-can in his hand." Much the same was said of Canning, and neither man would have become Prime Minister had he persisted in such conduct and had not learnt to mend his ways. In spite of their admitted ability, both men aroused the same feeling of suspicion in the minds of their fellow-countrymen, and for many years this held them back. How far the suspicion was deserved it is impossible to say, and one of Churchill's colleagues in several Cabinets once stated that although there was no limit to his intrigues to get into a government, he never intrigued once he had got there. All the same, it was not until he became Prime Minister for the second time that he began to have recourse to that oil-can to the absence of which John Burns had called the attention of King George V.

It is true of the careers of many statesmen to say that their darkest hour has preceded the dawn, but it is especially true of that of Winston Churchill. The 'thirties of the present century marked his nadir, and to

no inconsiderable extent this was his own fault. Indeed, that very over-worked individual, the historian of the future, may well marvel at the speed and at the ease with which his reputation was re-established as soon as the Second World War came. His mistake was to attempt to run two campaigns at the same time—namely, that against the Indian White Paper and that in favour of rearmament in face of the revival of the German menace. In retrospect he was probably right on both counts. In India self-government by easy stages, beginning in the provinces and then being extended to the centre, might well have avoided many of the later complications, while rearmament at an earlier date would have enabled



IN THE WESTERN DESERT, AUGUST 1942: SIR WINSTON VIEWING THE EL ALAMEIN POSITIONS.

In August 1942, after the German advance in the Western Desert had been halted, Sir Winston flew out to Cairo and visited the Alamein positions. He wanted to see for himself the cause of the reverse which had befallen our superior forces and what changes, if any, were needed in the command of that vast theatre of war. As a result, General Alexander was made C-in-C. Near East Command and General Montgomery took over command of the Eighth Army from General Auchinleck.

Great Britain to speak to Germany on equal terms when Hitler began to show his hand. Rightly or wrongly, the man-in-the-street refused to be roused by the Indian White Paper, but he could have been roused on the subject of rearmament if the need for it had been fairly and squarely put before him, and divorced from the Indian issue in which he took little interest. However, those who should have enlightened him over rearmament were too busy conducting a campaign against the Government over India, and so the opportunity was missed until it was too late.

The truth is that this was one of the few occasions when Churchill's political strategy was bad, and Baldwin out-manoeuvred him. The Government was extremely vulnerable on the question of rearmament but considerably less so in the matter of India. Ministers, therefore, contrived to confuse the two issues, and to convey the general impression that the whole Churchillian campaign was a personal vendetta against the leaders of the Conservative Party. They pointed out that his knowledge of Indian affairs was negligible as he had not visited India since he was a subaltern of Hussars, and they thereby conveyed the impression that he was equally misinformed where the international situation was concerned. The result was that Churchill's pleadings were dismissed as the interested utterances of a *frondeur*, and the majority in the House of Commons was satisfied that any external danger which existed had been adequately countered when an eminent barrister was appointed to be Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence.

The distrust of Winston Churchill engendered in this way was unquestionably heightened by the attitude which he adopted at the time of the abdication of King Edward VIII. Indeed, had any man asserted in December 1936 that in three-and-a-half years Churchill would be Prime

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WITH THEIR MILITARY ADVISERS AT THE CAIRO CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 1943: MARSHAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK (SEATED LEFT), PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT (CENTRE) AND SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL (RIGHT). IT WAS HERE THAT THE THREE LEADERS FORMULATED PLANS FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF JAPAN.



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL DURING THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE, JANUARY 1943, WHEN THEY AGREED TO ENFORCE "UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER" UPON THEIR ENEMIES.



CELEBRATING HIS SIXTY-NINTH BIRTHDAY DURING THE TEHRAN CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 1943: SIR WINSTON ENTERTAINING PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT (LEFT) AND MARSHAL STALIN (RIGHT). THE BIG THREE AGREED ON MEASURES TO DESTROY GERMAN MILITARY POWER.



AT A CONFERENCE OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS IN LONDON IN MAY 1944: SIR WINSTON WITH (L. TO R.) FIELD MARSHAL SMUTS, S. AFRICA; MR. MACKENZIE KING, CANADA; MR. JOHN CURTIN, AUSTRALIA, AND MR. PETER FRASER, NEW ZEALAND.



THE YALTA CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 1945. SIR WINSTON, IN AN ASTRAKHAN HAT; PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT (CENTRE); AND MARSHAL STALIN IN THE GROUNDS OF LIVIDIA PALACE, YALTA, WHERE THEY MET TO CONCERT THEIR FINAL PLANS FOR VICTORY.



AFTER VICTORY HAD BEEN WON: SIR WINSTON WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN (CENTRE) AND MARSHAL STALIN DURING THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE, JULY 1945, WHEN THE VICTORS CONSIDERED POST-WAR PROBLEMS.



THE BERMUDA CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 1953: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE, M. JOSEPH LANIEL (LEFT), AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER OUTSIDE THE MID-OCEAN CLUB BEFORE THE START OF THEIR FIRST FORMAL MEETING.

Throughout World War II. Sir Winston Churchill spared no effort to meet and confer with the Allied war leaders in order to concert plans for the subjugation of the common foe. Perhaps the most momentous of these meetings was that with President Roosevelt at Casablanca in January 1943, when it was agreed that the Allies would enforce "unconditional surrender" upon all their enemies, a decision which has been the subject of much controversy since. In November 1943 the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt met Marshal Stalin at Teheran and agreed upon measures to destroy German military power. Before leaving for Teheran the two Western war leaders had met Marshal Chiang Kai-shek

in Cairo, and plans were formulated to compel Japan to surrender unconditionally. The Commonwealth, too, was kept informed of the progress of the war and meetings were held in London with the Dominion leaders. In February 1945, the "Big Three" assembled at Yalta, in the Crimea, for the decisive conference of the war to concert the final plans for victory. Finally, with the war won, Sir Winston went to Potsdam, after an election in Britain, the result of which was to sweep him from power. Last year, once more Prime Minister, Sir Winston met the French Prime Minister and General Eisenhower, now President of the U.S.A., at Bermuda in December.

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Minister, he would have been laughed out of court. We live too near that crisis to view it objectively, and the central figure in it is still alive, but it can be stated without fear of contradiction that whereas the prestige of Baldwin was enormously enhanced, that of Churchill was correspondingly diminished. His attitude was considered to be all of a piece with his behaviour over the Indian White Paper, and to mark him out as a man who was ready to use any weapon against the Government. That this criticism was unjust is beside the point: the view was widely held, and his political reputation sank to a new low record.

It must, as has already been suggested, surely be admitted that in no small degree this was Churchill's own fault for, where public opinion was concerned, he had temporarily lost his touch, nor was it the first occasion on which this had happened. In the penultimate days of the Lloyd George Coalition he had scouted any idea that an appeal to the country would not return the existing Government to power, though events were soon to prove him sadly mistaken. It was to be the same again at the General Election of 1945. The fact that Winston Churchill has at times been the symbol of Britain and the mouthpiece of its people does not mean that there have not been other occasions when he has failed completely to understand the point of view of the ordinary citizen.

Such being the case, his rapid return to public favour is the more remarkable, and there are few precedents for it in British history. Yet the reasons are not so far to seek. As the German menace began to hang over the whole world like a threatening cloud it was remembered that he had been one of the first to call attention to it, and his attitude on India was forgotten. It is true that he incurred temporary unpopularity again by his opposition to the Munich agreement, but that agreement was, as Sheridan said of the Treaty of Amiens, one which all men were glad of, and no man was proud of, and when it became obvious that it had not served its purpose, then opposition to it became a passport to popular favour. Nor was this all, for the memory of what Churchill had effected at the Admiralty in the early days of the First World War recurred to the public mind as another conflict began to loom on the horizon. So the outcast of 1936 became the man whom the country demanded as First Lord in 1939, and as Prime Minister in the following year.

Towards Churchill as the outstanding British statesman of the Second World War posterity is likely to be at once more critical and more tolerant than his contemporaries; more critical in that it will examine his actions and motives against the background of history, more tolerant in that it will discount much that seemed to be of importance at the time. In these circumstances it is essential to regard in some detail what may perhaps be described as the credit and debit sides of Churchill's account with his fellow-countrymen during those war years when their destinies were in his hands, for we may be sure that on the balance struck will depend his final place in history.

When future generations come to examine the British contribution to the Second World War one of the first aspects to attract their attention may well be the fact that Churchill's Cabinet was infinitely weaker than that of Asquith or Lloyd George in the earlier conflict of the twentieth century. He had few Ministers of the calibre of Grey, Milner, Balfour, Curzon or Austen Chamberlain, to quote but a few names at random, and the Ministry which he formed in 1951 was much stronger than that of 1940. On the earlier occasion the young men had not yet come to the fore, or were serving with the Forces, and, as is ever the case with coalitions, other considerations than ability had to be taken into account when men were to be appointed to high office. Then, again, he had the misfortune to lose by a premature death Lord Lloyd, who was one of his wisest and ablest counsellors. It is already being remarked, and will almost certainly be commented on by posterity, that Winston Churchill was more of an autocrat than the Younger Pitt or Lloyd George in similar circumstances, or even than he himself was after 1951, but the answer lies largely in the quality of the men from whom perforce he had to draw his Ministers.

Mr. Robert Blake, in his wholly admirable Introduction to "The Private Papers of Douglas Haig, 1914-1918," has laid particular stress

upon this point: "The political world of 1940 did not contain any personalities as forceful and authoritative as the rivals of Lloyd George in 1916. Apart from Mr. Chamberlain, the principal figures in the previous Government had been Lord Halifax, Sir Samuel Hoare and Sir John Simon. All these were in temporary eclipse because of their responsibility for pre-war foreign policy. In any case, Mr. Churchill took no risks. He soon decided that their talents could be more usefully displayed at Washington, at Madrid, and on the Woolsack than at the heart of affairs. As for the leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties, their own past record and their lack of experience gave them no status to dispute the pre-eminence of Mr. Churchill. Moreover, their bargaining power was weak. In 1914 the House of Commons had been equally divided. In 1940, Mr. Churchill, controlling the Conservative Party, could command a majority of at least two to one even if Labour and Liberals combined in opposition. He was therefore in a strong position for dictating terms."

On the home front Churchill was thus personally much more firmly established than Lloyd George had been in the earlier war. Furthermore, the crisis of May 1940 had been much better handled than that of December 1916, and it roused no bitter memories among those who had participated in it. Churchill did not rise to power as the result of a long series of intrigues against his leader, but in consequence of a spontaneous revolt in the House of Commons against Neville Chamberlain, whom he had himself fiercely defended against a hostile Chamber. Nor was he

faced with the hostility of the man whom he succeeded in the Premiership, for nothing so became Chamberlain as his readiness to co-operate with the new Prime Minister, under whom he served loyally for the brief remainder of his life.

There is considerable evidence that at this point of his career Churchill studied with great care the vicissitudes to which Lloyd George had been subject during the First World War and its immediate aftermath. He had seen his old leader and friend driven from office in 1922, and never more able to regain it; and he was determined that a similar fate should not overtake him. At one moment it looked as if he had failed: that is to say, when the electors turned against him in 1945 as they had done against his predecessor twenty-three years before. That the two cases were not similar was due to the fact that when Neville Chamberlain died Churchill

had taken the precaution of getting himself elected leader of the Conservative Party. At the time there were those who said this was a mistake, and that a great national figure did not require party backing. Churchill, however, knew what he was doing, and he was much wiser than his critics. Lloyd George could be driven into the wilderness, and forced to remain there, because he had no party behind him: Churchill took care that he had such a machine, and in little more than six years after his defeat he was back in the seats of the mighty.

One aspect of the Second World War in particular is likely to attract the attention of posterity, and it is the absence of those continual wrangles between the politicians, the generals and the Press which had been so prominent a characteristic of its predecessor. There were several reasons for the improvement in the relations between these three forces, but Winston Churchill was the most important. As Lord Winterton has borne testimony, "Unlike Lloyd George, he had great knowledge and practical experience of defence," and so he was far better qualified to assess any given strategical situation. He had a sure touch where such matters were concerned. This is not to say that there were not occasional differences between Churchill and the heads of the Fighting Services, and in this connection the full story of his relations with Field Marshal Wavell has yet to be told, but the recurrent crises which had marked the First World War were avoided. To no inconsiderable extent, of course, this was due also to the strength of his political position. To quote Mr. Blake again, "Whereas Lloyd George was always balancing upon a precarious political tight-rope whence the slightest slip might hurl him to the earth, Mr. Churchill stood upon a solid rampart from which he could view with serenity the attempts of his enemies to climb, and could knock them firmly on the head if ever they came too near. Under Mr. Churchill's

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THE ARCHITECT OF VICTORY AFTER CROSSING GERMANY'S GREAT RIVER IN 1945 IN THE WAKE OF THE VICTORIOUS BRITISH AND AMERICAN TROOPS: MR. (NOW SIR WINSTON) CHURCHILL STEPPING ASHORE, FOLLOWED BY FIELD MARSHAL SIR BERNARD (NOW LORD) MONTGOMERY.

Organised resistance had not ceased in the Moselle-Saar triangle when Field Marshal Montgomery, only thirteen days after compelling the evacuation of the Wesel bridgehead, began to cross the Rhine on March 23, 1945. Two days later the Architect of Victory himself, Mr. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, with the Field Marshal made a trip together across the great river to visit troops in areas which, thirty-six hours before, had been in German hands.



UNDAUNTED LEADER DURING BRITAIN'S DARKEST DAYS, WHEN HIS WORDS AND DEEDS
INSPIRED THE NATION: SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL IN THE GARDEN OF NO. 10 DOWNING STREET,
DURING WORLD WAR II.



WITH A LOVING AND WELL-LOVED COMPANION: THE PRIME MINISTER, RECOVERED
FROM HIS ILLNESS OF 1953, DRIVING AWAY FROM NO. 10 DOWNING STREET WITH
HIS MINIATURE POODLE, "RUFUS II."

"I HAVE lost a dear and cherished friendship which was forged in the fire of war," was part of the message of sympathy which Mr. (now Sir) Winston Churchill sent to Mrs. Roosevelt on the death of her husband, President F. D. Roosevelt, in April 1945; and in "Churchill by His Contemporaries" Mrs. Roosevelt writes that the friendship and affection between the British Architect of Victory and his American partner was "something quite apart from official intercourse." The two men met on ten separate occasions during the war, the first time in Newfoundland in 1941, and after that Mr. Churchill made four journeys to Washington, two to Quebec, one to Casablanca, one to Cairo and to Teheran, and finally one to Yalta. Mr. Churchill paid his first visit to the White House in 1941, and in 1943 stayed with the Roosevelts at their home, Hyde Park; and with every meeting the friendship between the Premier and the President grew. The secret correspondence which Mr. Churchill, as "Naval Person" and later as "Former Naval Person" (a reference to his having been First Lord of the Admiralty), carried on with President Roosevelt to keep him informed of the progress of the war, was of vital importance.

IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM AT YALTA AFTER THE FIRST MEETING THERE OF THE THREE-POWER CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 1945, SHORTLY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH: MR. CHURCHILL AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.



A GREAT ENGLISHMAN MOURNS FOR THE GREAT AMERICAN BY WHOSE DEATH HE "LOST A DEAR AND CHERISHED FRIENDSHIP WHICH WAS FORGED IN THE FIRE OF WAR": MR. CHURCHILL IN SILENT HOMAGE AT THE GRAVE OF PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. MRS. ROOSEVELT IS SHOWN (CENTRE).

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régime the leaders of the Army were in no position, even if they had so desired, to challenge the decisions of the Prime Minister and his Government."

In this way he was able to put into practice several of the schemes which it had not been possible for him as a subordinate to carry through in the First World War. For example, the landing in Sicily in 1943 was a better-organised and better-thought-out Gallipoli expedition, of which Lord Altrincham has written: "The political arguments for that undertaking were as weighty as the military ones. If successful—as it very nearly was—it would have eliminated Turkey from the war, with consequences of great value throughout the Middle East; it would have prevented Bulgaria from entering the war on Germany's side; it would have permitted the reinforcement of Russia with all the equipment of which her splendid man-power stood in need; and, with Germany held between two extensive embattled fronts, East and West, which she could not afford to weaken, it would have opened her most vulnerable flank in Austria to a deadly thrust with the great port of Constantinople as its base. Churchill's was the mind which first perceived all this when tortured by the threatened cost of frontal offensives against an entrenched German line in France which by Christmas 1914 had no flanks. It was the classic political and military solution to a problem of that kind; and it would have succeeded had the naval and military operations been better combined and the Suvla Bay landing driven home."

Like its predecessor, the landing in Sicily was an attempt to take the enemy in the rear, and this time it was successful. Had the thirty German divisions which were in consequence tied down in Italy been available for service in France, the story of 1944 after the Normandy landing might have been very different.

In so far as the Press was concerned, during the war years Churchill possessed two inestimable advantages over Lloyd George; in the first place, there was no longer a Northcliffe to be taken into account, and in the second he had the B.B.C. at his service. The only newspaper proprietor who might have been tempted to take an independent line was Lord Beaverbrook, and he was the Prime Minister's ally and friend. Nor is it possible to over-value the asset which Churchill possessed in the existence of the B.B.C. In the First World War the only way in which the Government could reach the public was through the Press, and this placed the great newspaper proprietors in a peculiarly strong position. In its successor Ministers were able to address the public direct over the air, and no one who listened to the broadcasts of Winston Churchill could remain in any doubt as to his mastery of the new medium, or to the power with which it endowed him.

That Churchill is a great orator is unlikely to be questioned, and Sir Norman Birkett has put him on a par with Chatham, Sheridan, Fox and Canning. "Many of his speeches," Sir Norman has written, "will live as examples of human speech at its highest and best, and they will be woven into the fabric of our own history and the history of the world." This is, perhaps, putting it a little too high, for it is early to speak in quite these terms. Churchill will only find his real place when his speeches are assessed by a generation which has not been under his spell, and has not experienced the crises which in many instances prompted them. In one respect, indeed, he is definitely inferior to some of his earlier contemporaries, and that is in the matter of repartee at a large public meeting. He has not the facility of Joseph Chamberlain or of Carson, and least of all of that master of the lightning reply, F. E. Smith. A Churchillian speech is a set speech in the grand manner, and, outside the House of Commons, it cannot be rapidly adjusted to deal with the sudden interruption. "The Tories want to tax my food!" a man shouted out to F.E. at a crowded meeting; back came the immediate retort, "There is no proposal to tax thistles." The Prime Minister is incapable of a thrust of that nature: perhaps the reason lies in the slight impediment in his speech, and also in the fact that he did not receive a legal training.

On the other hand, his peculiar type of oratory—whether it was in the House of Commons, on the platform, or over the wireless—was just what the situation and the public demanded during the Second World War. It was part of his technique of leadership. He never despaired, and he managed to inculcate in the man-in-the-street his own indomitable resolution. Perhaps his sense of history and tradition helped him most in this respect. He conveyed the impression that the nation had been through similar crises in the past, and had overcome them; therefore, this particular one would pass if only the country would put its back into the task. He made no attempt to argue that Britain's cause was just; he took it for granted, and in consequence everyone else did the same thing. Criticism was brushed aside, as Lloyd George discovered to his cost after a speech in the House of Commons on May 7, 1941. "I must, however, say," Churchill observed on that occasion, "that I did not think Mr. Lloyd George's speech was particularly helpful at a period of what he himself called discouragement and disheartenment. It was the sort of speech with which, I imagine, the illustrious and venerable Marshal Pétain might well have enlivened the closing days of M. Reynaud's Cabinet." When future generations are investigating the causes of the high morale of the British people during the Second World War they will have to give Winston Churchill's speeches a prominent place.

It will probably be true to say in retrospect that Churchill did not become a world figure until he succeeded Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister in May 1940. On several previous occasions, notably during the

First World War, he had, so to speak, flitted across the world's stage, but it was not until the summer of 1940 that he occupied the centre of it. As has already been suggested, posterity is likely to assess his career as a whole in a greater degree than his contemporaries are doing, but when all is said and done the verdict of history will depend on the view taken of his policy between his assumption of the Premiership in the summer of 1940 and his relinquishment of it as the result of the General Election five years later.

This period falls into two parts, which must be examined separately. The first covers the thirteen months which elapsed between the German invasion of France and the Low Countries and the subsequent attack on Russia, and the second from then



THE FIRST FOREIGNER EVER TO ADDRESS BOTH HOUSES OF THE DUTCH PARLIAMENT: MR. CHURCHILL DELIVERING HIS SPEECH IN THE KNIGHTS' HALL OF THE BINNENHOF PALACE, THE HAGUE, ON MAY 9, 1946.

The gratitude which the Netherlands felt towards Mr. Churchill for his great part in achieving victory for the Allies in 1945, and thus liberating the country from the domination of Germany, had concrete expression. On May 8, 1946, accompanied by Mrs. (now Lady) Churchill and Miss Mary Churchill (now Mrs. Christopher Soames), he arrived for a six-day visit to the country and received a tremendous welcome. He was received by Queen Wilhelmina at Amsterdam and dined with her; and on the following day he addressed both Houses of the Dutch Parliament (the States-General of the Netherlands), an honour never before conferred on a foreigner. Our photograph shows him speaking in the Knights' Hall of the Binnenhof Palace, The Hague; with Mrs. Churchill and Miss Mary Churchill seated (r. and l.) on the platform.

until the end of the war in Europe in the spring of 1945.

In spite of the mass of material already available, the full story of Churchill's policy during the critical months of May and June 1940 still remains to be told. In particular his relations with King Leopold III. of the Belgians and with General Weygand are obscure. To both men he seems to have taken a violent and personal dislike on political grounds; so much so that he has ever since been unable to do them ordinary justice. Yet it is difficult to see how either of them could have acted otherwise, given the circumstances in which they were placed. Churchill, indeed, seems to have allowed himself to become a partisan in French politics at this time, and the consequences were by no means happy. The famous offer of a union between Britain and France is also to some extent wrapped in mystery. On the other hand, he was indubitably right in holding back the British reserve of fighter planes when France was going down to disaster. It was a decision that required great courage to take, and that he took it is not the least of Churchill's claims to the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen. To have acted otherwise would not have affected the result of the Battle of France but it would have lost the Battle of Britain. During the succeeding months when Britain stood alone, Churchill's leadership was superb. Few people outside the country thought it possible that she could survive, and that this view was not also held at home was due to the inspiration of the Prime Minister. He has himself paid a tribute to the British people by describing this period as "Their Finest Hour": this is true, but that it is true is in no small measure due to what may with equal justice be termed "His Finest Hour."

In 1941 fresh problems made their appearance. The German invasion of Russia, and then the Japanese attack on the United States, provided

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IN 1912, WHEN THE WORK OF REORGANISING THE NAVY WAS BEING CARRIED OUT: MR. CHURCHILL, FIRST LORD, AND ADMIRAL PRINCE LOUIS OF BATTENBERG.



MR. CHURCHILL, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH MR. LLOYD GEORGE, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.



THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, MR. CHURCHILL, WITH ADMIRAL LORD FISHER, WHO WORKED WITH HIM ON THE VITAL REORGANISATION OF THE NAVY.



A GREAT ENGLISHMAN AND A GREAT SOUTH AFRICAN: MR. CHURCHILL WITH GENERAL SMUTS, WHOSE "RUGGED ANIMATED COUNSELS" ROUSED HIS ADMIRATION; AT CAIRO IN 1942, WHEN MONTGOMERY WAS APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE EIGHTH ARMY.



WITH SIR EDWARD CARSON, WHOSE ULSTER RESISTANCE PLANS SWITCHED TO PATRIOTIC ENDEAVOUR WHEN WORLD WAR I. BROKE OUT: MR. CHURCHILL.



WATCHING ARMY MANOEUVRES IN 1913 WITH HIS GREAT OPPONENT AND PERSONAL FRIEND, "F. E." SMITH—LATER LORD BIRKENHEAD (SEATED IN CAR): MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.



MR. CHURCHILL (CENTRE) WITH (L. TO R.) MR. EDEN, SIR ALAN BROOK, C.I.G.S., AIR MARSHAL SIR A. W. TEDDER, ADMIRAL SIR ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, GENERAL SIR HAROLD ALEXANDER, GENERAL MARSHALL, GENERAL EISENHOWER AND GENERAL SIR BERNARD MONTGOMERY AT THE ALLIED PLANNING CONFERENCE.

When in 1911 Mr. Churchill went to the Admiralty as First Lord, he was closely associated with Prince Louis of Battenberg; but in preparing the Navy to meet the German onslaught of World War I, which he so clearly foresaw, it was Admiral Lord Fisher who was his partner. Fisher was in retirement; Churchill consulted him constantly, and in October 1914 recalled him as First Sea Lord on Prince Louis' retirement. They worked together in affectionate confidence until Lord Fisher resigned on account of his disapproval of the

'Dardanelles adventure.' Mr. Churchill had the highest opinion of General Smuts, and when Secretary for War he states that Smuts was the only distinguished visitor to the War Office whom he personally conducted to the door on leaving. "F. E." Smith, later Lord Birkenhead, was a political opponent—and a loved friend. The affection in which the war leaders of World War II. held—and hold—Sir Winston is well known. Those in our group in North Africa are described by the titles they held when it was taken in 1943.

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Britain with allies once more, but in this new dispensation Churchill was no longer able to direct the strategy of the war simply as he wished, for he had to be continually consulting Washington and Moscow. In effect, he was back in the position of Lloyd George in the First World War, and Stalin and Roosevelt were at least as difficult to deal with as had been Clemenceau and Woodrow Wilson. The policy pursued by Churchill in these circumstances has been carefully analysed by Chester Wilmot in "The Struggle for Europe," and the judgments passed in that book are, in the main, likely to stand. The British Prime Minister is shown as endeavouring to steer a middle course between the enthusiasms of the American President and the cynical realism of the Russian dictator, and what is surprising is not that he effected so little but that he accomplished so much.

American Presidents are never very easy partners for British Prime Ministers. They are not conversant with the more practical aspects of the international situation, and owing to the peculiar position of the Senate under the American Constitution they have to be continually looking over their shoulders to make sure that their people are coming along with them. In spite of his prestige abroad, Franklin Roosevelt was certainly no exception in this respect, for he had many formidable opponents at home, and that Churchill got on so well with him—at any rate, for a time—is probably due to the fact that his own mother was an American. Where Roosevelt proved the greatest liability was where Russia was concerned. In the first place, and in spite of all evidence to the contrary, he convinced himself that Stalin intended to liberalise his régime; and in the second he attempted, particularly at Teheran and Yalta, to play off Russia against Great Britain, for he had a deeply-rooted suspicion of what he considered to be British Imperialism. He would neglect nothing that might contribute to the defeat of Germany and Japan, but he was always on his guard against giving his consent to any step which he felt might serve the ultimate and nefarious purposes of British policy. After his death his fellow-countrymen realised that while seeking to undermine the British Empire he had built up a far greater menace in the shape of Russian Imperialism, so that to-day there are few to do him reverence; but during the war he had very considerable backing, and in consequence had to be handled by Churchill with extreme care.

In one respect in particular the British Prime Minister did score a notable triumph, and that was in persuading Roosevelt that the defeat of Germany must precede that of Japan. Tribute should also be paid to the American President for the courage which he displayed in sticking to this policy once he had accepted it. Public opinion in the United States is always liable to be more united in respect of the Far East than it is where Europe is concerned, for in the latter case all sorts of atavistic forces come into play in the very mixed population. On the other hand, Roosevelt refused to adopt his British ally's views in respect of southern and south-eastern Europe, with the result that to-day the Iron Curtain is several hundred miles further west than need have been the case. In view of the extreme dependence of Great Britain upon the United States if the war was to be carried to a successful conclusion, what is surprising is that Churchill got so many concessions out of Roosevelt, and it is safe to say that no other British statesman would have got anything like so much.

Future generations are as likely to be as divided as are contemporaries on the advisability of that policy of "unconditional surrender" which the American President succeeded at the Casablanca Conference of 1943 in persuading the British Prime Minister to underwrite. The term seems from the start to have meant different things to different people. Roosevelt apparently first employed it because "the thought popped into my mind that they had called Grant 'Old Unconditional Surrender,' and the next thing I knew I had said it." Churchill interpreted the phrase as meaning "that the Germans have no rights to any particular form of treatment. For instance, the Atlantic Charter would not apply to them as a matter of right. On the other hand, the victorious nations owe it

to themselves to observe the obligations of humanity and civilisation." What Churchill had at the back of his mind was probably a desire to avoid the situation at the end of the previous war when there was a serious difference of opinion as to the conditions on which the Germans had surrendered. That he had no option but to accept the phrase can hardly be denied in view of the circumstances in which it was used; yet it had repercussions which were as unfortunate as they were unintended, for it undoubtedly conveyed to the German people the impression that if they were defeated they would be treated as if they were the inhabitants of a town taken by storm, and that the same punishment would be meted out to them whether or not they continued to support Hitler. In effect, the origin of the term is to be found in one of those fits of irresponsibility which from time to time characterised Franklin Roosevelt, and there was nothing whatever that Churchill could have done to restrain him; indeed, any attempt to have done so would have put a serious strain upon Anglo-American relations.

However, if Roosevelt was on occasion difficult, Stalin was always intractable. British statesmen have rarely had to consider Russia in the light of an ally, but whenever they have been required to do so they have found her methods extremely trying. One of the chief liabilities of Liverpool and Castlereagh in the last years of the Napoleonic war, and in the resettlement of Europe which followed it, was the behaviour of the Tsar, Alexander I., and Churchill found that the change of régime in Russia had made no difference in this respect. Indeed, there

was a definite parallel between the two occasions, for on neither did Russia become Britain's ally voluntarily, but only when she had been attacked by Britain's enemy. Alexander I. was the admiring ally of Napoleon until the French Emperor rounded on him, while Stalin had been only too willing to extend the hand of friendship to Hitler as soon as there was any hope of a new partition of Poland. The only difference between the two Russian despots was that Alexander wanted to be popular in Western Europe, while Stalin did not care in the least what the outside world thought of him.

Churchill had to walk carefully where Russia was concerned, and for a variety of reasons. When she was attacked by Hitler he had pledged his country's aid with a warmth that not a few of his supporters felt to be a trifle excessive, and it would indeed be interesting to

know what history will have to say on this particular point. In retrospect it is obvious that his main preoccupation from 1941 to 1945 was the fear that Russia might make a separate peace with Germany as she had done in the First World War, and to prevent this he found himself compelled to flatter Stalin to the top of his bent. This, in its turn, encouraged the Russian autocrat to raise his demands continually, while it made Churchill's task of resisting them, even when they were most

unreasonable, correspondingly difficult. Nor was this all, for the policy to which the British Government was perforce committed had undesirable reactions nearer home. The Russian resistance to the German invasion was glorified to such an extent that it was depicted as almost the greatest event in the history of mankind, and the not unnatural result was a demand, carefully stimulated by the Communists and other Left Wing elements, for action by Britain to ease the pressure on Russia. "Form a Second Front Now" was the slogan of the people who held such views, and their campaign soon became extremely embarrassing to the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Thus, where Russia was concerned, domestic politics and the strategy of the war tended to become inextricably entangled: this state of affairs suited Stalin very well, but it did not suit Churchill at all; yet it is difficult to see how it could have been avoided.

In any event, Churchill's hands were tied. It has already been shown how blind Roosevelt was to the real nature of Russian policy, and how he was not above playing Stalin off against the British Prime Minister: therefore Churchill was far from being able to count on American support if he had to make a stand against the demands of the Russian dictator. It was also quite impossible for him to crack the whip by threatening to come to terms with Germany, even if he had been personally willing to adopt such a course. The war was regarded by the British people in the light

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DECORATED WITH FRANCE'S HIGHEST MILITARY HONOUR, THE MEDAILLE MILITAIRE: MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, IN THE COURTYARD OF THE INVALIDES, PARIS, AFTER HE HAD RECEIVED THE AWARD FROM THE FRENCH PREMIER, M. RAMADIER—WHO, AS SERGEANT RAMADIER, HIMSELF WON THE MEDAILLE MILITAIRE IN 1914.

On May 10, 1947, Mr. Churchill, then Leader of the Opposition, received France's highest military award. The ceremony took place at Paris in the courtyard of the Invalides, where a guard of honour of African cavalry, chasseurs and infantrymen was drawn up. Mr. Churchill wore the uniform of a Colonel of the 4th Queen's Own Hussars. When M. Ramadier pinned the medal on his breast, he said: "France congratulates you and thanks you."



In the Grounds at Chartwell: Sir Winston Churchill,
with a Thoroughbred Colt.

Reproduced by courtesy of "Life" Magazine and "The Daily Telegraph."



WHERE MR. CHURCHILL WAS ABLE TO ENTERTAIN A FEW GUESTS TO DINNER IN THE UNDERGROUND SECURITY OF HIS WARTIME HEADQUARTERS: THE PRIVATE DINING-ROOM BENEATH STOREY'S GATE, ST. JAMES'S PARK, LONDON.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Churchill's personal instinct during the bombing was to "go up and see what was happening," it became obvious when the "blitz" started in earnest that he could no longer go on living in Downing Street, which was ill-fitted to resist any bombing. Accordingly, he and his wife moved into a small suite of rooms in the War Cabinet's bomb-proof headquarters, constructed some 70 ft. underground, beneath the buildings now occupied by the Ministry of Defence at Storey's Gate. The suite consisted of Mr. Churchill's combined bedroom and office, Mrs. Churchill's bedroom—which she often shared with her daughter Mary, and a small dining-room. Mr. Churchill did a great deal of work in his room, from which he made most of his famous wartime broadcasts. From this room, too, he was in radio-telephone communication with the commanders

(Continued below, right.)



WHERE MR. CHURCHILL FREQUENTLY SLEPT AT NIGHT DURING THE CRITICAL YEARS OF WORLD WAR II.: THE BED AT ONE END OF HIS COMBINED BOMB-PROOF BED-ROOM AND OFFICE, FROM WHICH HE BROADCAST MOST OF HIS GREAT WARTIME SPEECHES.



THE SCENE OF GREAT DECISIONS AND THE CENTRE OF THE WAR CABINET'S UNDERGROUND HEADQUARTERS: THE FAMOUS C.W.R. (CABINET WAR ROOM) BENEATH STOREY'S GATE, SHOWING THE CONFERENCE TABLE.



IN THE SUITE SOME 70 FT. UNDERGROUND WHICH WAS BEYOND THE REACH OF BOMBS: MRS. CHURCHILL'S WARTIME BEDROOM, WHICH WAS OFTEN SHARED BY HER DAUGHTER MARY, WHO SLEPT ON A CAMP BED.

Continued.
on the various world battlefronts. The near-by C.W.R. (Cabinet War Room) was manned night and day throughout hostilities and senior officers of the three Services were always on duty and available for consultation with the Cabinet. It was announced in 1948 that the War Cabinet's underground headquarters were to be preserved in their wartime state. For security reasons, and owing to their inevitable unsuitability for mass visitation, they are not, however, open to the public.

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of a crusade, and any idea of a negotiated peace was abhorrent to them : furthermore, both he and they were now committed to fight on until the " unconditional surrender " of the enemy. All these facts must be taken into consideration before any verdict can be passed on Churchill's wartime diplomacy. He had to be content to play with the cards which had been dealt to him, and they were not particularly strong ones. Britain, France and Poland had set out to defeat Germany in September 1939. Poland had collapsed inside a month, and France inside a year. Britain had proved unconquerable, it is true, but she had also proved unable to overthrow Germany with her own unaided resources. These facts were perfectly well known to Stalin and Roosevelt, and they naturally influenced their attitude towards their British colleague. Such being the case, no man could have effected more for his country's interests than did Winston Churchill.

He is more open to criticism on the ground that he concentrated on winning the war to such an extent that he forgot about the peace which must come after it. It is here that future generations may well come to the conclusion that he cannot bear comparison with the Younger Pitt. Mr. J. G. Lockhart, in a passage of great beauty in " The Peacemakers, 1814-1815," has written of the earlier statesman : " Then, when the bells were ringing for victory ; when the army which Pitt planned, under the leader whom Pitt chose, struck the hammer-blows of the Peninsular War and withstood the reeling shock of Waterloo ; when the statesman whom Pitt taught brought back from Vienna the pacification which Pitt had described, but did not live to see—then we may fancy that, as Castlereagh carried to the House of Commons tidings of ' peace with honour,' long awaited and dearly bought, and the cheers volleyed forth, to a faithful few must have come a swift, transitory vision of a tall, slender figure, with a little cocked hat above a tilted nose, walking stiffly to his seat, to a whisper like the rustle of autumn's leaves : ' Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt.' " The Younger Pitt was not, like his father and Churchill, a great leader of men, but he was a very great statesman, so that during the long years that he was fighting, first revolutionary France and then Napoleon, he never lost sight of the settlement that should terminate the war. He had been in his grave for more than eight years when that day came, but the terms of peace which he had envisaged were reached by his pupil, Castlereagh.

It must, of course, be admitted that Churchill had nothing like a free hand in the strategy of the war, and he had to give way to American and Russian demands when, if left to himself, he would have preferred to pursue a different policy. But in one important respect he has accepted full responsibility for what he did, and that was when he declared that he would assist anybody who would fight the Germans. He was as good as his word, with the result that all over Europe there were, before long, Communist partisans receiving arms and money from the Government of monarchist Britain. Churchill went, indeed, even further, and encouraged the formation of Resistance movements even where they did not already exist. Such a policy may be justified on grounds of temporary expediency, but there are grave objections to it which were stated by the Duke of Wellington 150 years ago when it was proposed to send him to South America to encourage the Spanish colonies there to revolt. " I always had a horror," he said, " of revolutionising any country for a political object. I always said, if they rise of themselves, well and good, but do not stir them up : it is a fearful responsibility." Churchill would not appear to have entertained any such scruples.

Yet this policy resulted in many difficulties when the war was over. The Communists, supported by Russia, everywhere declared that they alone had resisted Germany, and the British electorate for a time accepted such statements at their face value. In Greece the situation was seen at its worst, for in consequence of the encouragement there of all and every type of *guerrillero*, the country was for a time within an ace of passing behind the Iron Curtain ; that this did not happen was due to a change of policy on the part of Churchill after a visit to Athens at considerable personal risk, with the result that with Byron, Canning and Gladstone, he is one of the Englishmen most admired in Greece. Yugoslavia was definitely lost, and in several other countries a distinct impetus was given to Communist movements which has since proved to be a considerable

embarrassment. Churchill clearly felt quite sincerely that the end justified the means, but it is far from certain that posterity will agree with him. He can hardly have been thinking in terms of the peace settlement when he gave this indiscriminate encouragement to all who would take up arms against Hitler : it was all very well to say that nothing mattered except winning the war, but it was not true ; what mattered was winning the peace, and this was hardly the way to go about it.

Not the least of Churchill's wartime colleagues is said to hold the view that as a national leader in the Second World War he was not the equal of Lloyd George in the First, but it is extremely difficult to subscribe to this opinion. We have already seen that the position of Lloyd George was very insecure ; that he was mistrusted in many quarters ; and that his leadership tended to divide rather than to unite. None of these criticisms is applicable to Churchill. Abroad, too, the situation was quite different in the Second World War from what it had been in the First ; indeed, there is a good deal to be said for the argument that the position of France on the former occasion was that of Britain on the latter, and that, at any rate from 1942 onwards, the United States stood where Britain had stood from 1914 to 1918. In effect, Lloyd George had not to contend with the difficulties which faced Churchill—many of his difficulties were, in fact, of his own making—and he had far abler colleagues with whom to share his burdens ; so that in point of wartime leadership Churchill was surely far superior to Lloyd George, and it will be surprising if future generations hold any other view.

No British statesman for many years has loomed so large in the eyes of the outside world, even in those of his country's foes. The Younger

Pitt was loathed by the French of his day as *le monstre Pitt, l'ennemi du genre humain*, and Hitler regarded Churchill in the same way and for the same reason—both men were the chief obstacle to the establishment of a " new order " in Europe. " Churchill is the most bloodthirsty of amateur strategists," Hitler declared in May 1941, " that history has ever known. He is as bad a politician as a soldier and as bad a soldier as a politician. Like a madman, Churchill has always been running all over Europe to look for a country to become a battlefield. His May Day speech was symptomatic of a paralytic disease, or the ravings of a drunkard." Britain's enemies, like her friends, saw in him the embodiment of the national determina-



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE CROWDS WHICH SWARMED IN THE CHAMPS ELYSEES DURING SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL'S VISIT TO PARIS ON ARMISTICE DAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1944.

On November 11, 1944, at the invitation of General de Gaulle, Sir Winston paid a visit to Paris. The reunion of the people of Paris and the Prime Minister they had so long waited to greet was one of the most moving scenes in the liberation of France.

tion to conquer. He was in the great tradition of Elizabeth I., Chatham and the Younger Pitt. From the moment that he succeeded Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister he captured the world's imagination, and this fact alone was of the greatest service to his country.

What is even more surprising is that outside Britain his prestige was in no way diminished by his defeat at the General Election of 1945 ; indeed, this result was regarded abroad as a temporary aberration on the part of the British electorate, and in no way reflected upon Churchill's position as a world figure. As Leader of the Opposition at Westminster he was not, it must be confessed, seen at his best. To quote again that very experienced Parliamentarian, Lord Winterton, " Churchill's Parliamentary position might easily have suffered a permanent or at least temporary eclipse. That this did not occur is striking evidence of his foremost place in world statesmanship. Indeed, it was as a world statesman, and not as Leader of the Opposition, that he excelled in the 1945 and 1950 Parliaments. There were certain defects in his leadership of the Opposition. He was not as assiduous in his attendance at unimportant debates as occupancy of the post demands. To be wholly successful in leading the Opposition a man must resign himself to sitting long hours through dreary debates. He must watch and wait. He must watch especially the men and women on his own side so as to judge the capabilities of each of them who show promise for future office ; he must wait for any legitimate opportunity to intervene so as to hearten his own side and attack the Government. Such a task was plainly uncongenial to Churchill, and, in view of his other important work, including the completion of his great book on the Second World War, would in any case have been difficult."

Yet even in this hostile House of Commons he secured a notable triumph. The great Socialist majority returned at the General Election

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The streets of London were packed with excited and happy people on VE-Day, May 8, 1945, and when the Prime Minister left No. 10, Downing Street on his way to the House of Commons he was immediately enveloped in a vast crowd which had been waiting in Whitehall to pay tribute to their great national leader. So huge was the throng that the

police found considerable difficulty in escorting him as he laughed and waved. Twice that day he spoke to the people from the balcony of the Ministry of Health. "God bless you all," he said to them. "This is your victory. It is the victory of the cause of freedom in every land. In all our long history we have never seen a greater day than this."

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had come up from the constituencies full of contempt for his views on foreign affairs, and determined to reverse his policy at the earliest possible moment. Gradually Churchill converted them to his way of thinking, so that by the time he took office again there was little difference between the two parties where international matters were concerned. He persuaded the House of Commons and the Socialist Government to accept the disagreeable truth that a Third World War was not an impossibility, and that in consequence every step must be taken to prevent it, or, if this failed, to win it. This was a remarkable achievement, and it was largely due to the position which he had achieved, and was more than maintaining, in the eyes of the world.

What this position meant, and the reason why he had attained it, was clearly shown by the speech which he delivered at Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946. In it he displayed to the full his appreciation of realities in world affairs when he coined—or reissued—the phrase “the Iron Curtain,” to describe the division of Europe into two camps. He pointed out that once again the twin dangers of war and tyranny menaced the homes of the peoples of the West, and he urged that in consequence these peoples must unite to avert the menace. Neither appeasement nor passive indifference would suffice to stop the Russian dictator, for he respected nothing but force. The United States, he pointed out, already had a permanent defence agreement with Canada, but since the great republic “stands at the pinnacle of world power,” it had, in his opinion, “an awe-inspiring accountability for the future,” which could not be effectively met unless it brought the whole English-speaking world, alongside a United Europe, into a single organised system of defence.

This speech was made in a mid-Western State by a foreigner who had recently been decisively—to many people finally—defeated at the polls in his own country, yet it has proved to be one of the most important utterances of modern times. In it Churchill called upon the people of the United States to abandon that doctrine of isolation which they had always upheld in time of peace, and to accept their full responsibility as a World Power. They listened to him as they would not have listened to any other man on earth, and they did what he asked. No other Englishman but Churchill could have done it. From that speech has sprung the formidable alliance of the North Atlantic peoples, recently extended to Greece and Turkey, which, even in its present immature form, has given pause to the rulers of Soviet Russia. The Fulton address was probably the most remarkable single episode in Winston Churchill's career, and in its influence it may well be unparalleled when it is remembered that it was delivered by a private individual.

Paradoxically enough, it took some time for this analysis of the international situation to be fully appreciated in his own country. In due course, as has been shown, he convinced the large majority of the House of Commons, but a considerable proportion of the electorate continued to bear him a grudge for dispelling their comfortable illusions, and the accusation of being a warmonger undoubtedly did him much harm at the General Election of 1951; had this not been the case the Conservative Party would have emerged from the contest with a much bigger majority. Once more in office, he soon proved that he was very far from being the warmonger of his opponents' propaganda, for he devoted himself to the attempt to heal the breach between East and West. What had happened, in effect, was that he had again displayed his realism.

At Fulton he told the world that the rulers of Russia appreciated the argument of strength, but no other. When his warning had taken effect, and the West had proceeded some way with its rearmament, he decided that it was now possible to talk with Moscow on a relatively equal footing. There was nothing new about his approach; it was exactly the same policy that, with respect to Germany,

he had urged on MacDonald, Baldwin and Chamberlain, but they had refused to listen to him. That he was heard on this later occasion is the best proof of the great position which he had built up for himself in the interval.

No account of Churchill's powers of leadership would be complete without a further reference to the General Election of 1951. He had not been a particularly good Leader of the Opposition, and yet his party effected a revival almost without precedent in modern political history. In 1906 the Conservatives had gone down to a comparable disaster, and twelve years elapsed before they again had a majority in the House of Commons; now they regained power in half that time. It may, perhaps, be argued that this would have happened anyhow, and that Churchill's leadership had nothing to do with it. That is as may be, but we can be quite sure that had this Conservative revival not taken place the blame would have been placed on Churchill, so it is surely not unreasonable that some, at least, of the credit for the revival should go to him.

He has one other attribute which cannot be ignored in any estimate of the weight which he carries in the world to-day, and that is a versatility which is a source of profound admiration to foreigners and Englishmen alike. If Churchill had never been anything but a politician his career would indeed have been a remarkable one, but he has been many other things in his time. He has, for example, had wider experience of fighting than most professional soldiers, and not many men are entitled to wear such an imposing array of medals.

Churchill started his military career in the 4th Hussars; he served with the Spaniards in Cuba; he fought with the British Army in the Sudan under Kitchener, as well as on the North-West Frontier of India; in the South African War he was a newspaper correspondent, was captured by the Boers, but made his escape in the most dramatic circumstances; while in the First World War he for a time commanded an infantry battalion in France. There cannot have been many civilian statesmen in history who have even approached such a record, and to a large extent it explains the relatively smooth relations which existed in the Second World War between him and the commanders in the field.

Yet even this is not the sum total of Churchill's achievements, for he is without question one of the leading historians of the day. In this connection he is perhaps at his best in description, for he has the

happy knack of making past events very vivid indeed; at analysis of character he is not so good, for he does not possess the requisite detachment of mind. His writings, like his speeches, are marked by a felicity of phrase which singles him out from among contemporary British statesmen, and his appeal often lies not so much in what he says as in the way he says it. Lastly, he is no mean performer with the artist's brush.

That there are wide gaps in Churchill's knowledge both of men and of affairs it would be idle to deny, and there have been occasions where his military judgment was more skilful than his political; but taking his career and character as a whole, he is one of the outstanding phenomena of modern times in the realm of statesmanship.

To compare Winston Churchill with Charles James Fox would be an insult to Churchill, but they have one characteristic in common—namely, their personal ascendancy over those with whom they come into contact. The Abbé de Lagéard once expressed his surprise to Pitt that Fox should have so strong a hold over his fellow-countrymen in view of the fact that he was continually advocating policies with which they did not agree. “Ah!” was the reply. “You have not been under the wand of the magician.” One can imagine the same remark being made in a generation's time by some old Parliamentarian who had sat in the House of Commons with Churchill.

END.

February 16, 1954.



“ADVANCE, BRITANNIA! LONG LIVE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM! GOD SAVE THE KING!”: MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL SEATED AT THE MICROPHONE ON MAY 8, 1945, WHEN HE ANNOUNCED TO THE NATION THAT THE WAR WITH GERMANY WAS AT AN END.

At three o'clock on the afternoon of Tuesday, May 8, 1945, the Prime Minister announced to the nation in a broadcast that the war with Germany was at an end. He said: “Yesterday morning at 2.41 a.m. at General Eisenhower's headquarters, General Jodl, the representative of the German High Command, and Grand-Admiral Doenitz, the designated head of the German State, signed the act of unconditional surrender of all German land, sea and air forces in Europe to the Allied Expeditionary Force, and similarly to the Soviet High Command. . . . Hostilities will end officially at one minute after midnight to-night (Tuesday, May 8th), but, in the interests of saving lives, the Cease Fire began yesterday to be sounded all along the front, and our dear Channel Islands are also to be freed to-day. . . . We must now devote all our strength and resources to the completion of our tasks, both at home and abroad. Advance, Britannia! Long live the cause of freedom! God Save the King!” After his broadcast the Prime Minister went on to the House of Commons to repeat his announcement.